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THE

AUTOBIOGRAPHY

OF

THOMAS SHEPARD,

THE CELEBRATED MINISTER OF CAMBRIDGE, N. E.

WITH ADDITIONAL NOTICES OF HIS LIFE AND CHARACTER;

BY NEHEMIAH ADAMS,
Pastor of the First Church in connexion with the Shepard Society, Cambridge.

1362

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ADVERTISEMENT.

THE circumstances connected with the publication of this Auto-biography are as interesting to those concerned in them as the book itself. The First Church in Cambridge, settled and built up by this great and good man THOMAS SHEPARD, (after the removal of a former Church with their Pastors, Hooker and Stone, from Cambridge to Hartford, Conn.) was compelled a few years since, by measures too well known to the public, to leave their place of worship in the hands of a Unitarian parish, and two or three Unitarian male members of the Church. By decisions of the Supreme Court of Mass. the churches have been pronounced incompetent to retain property unless connected with an incorporated society. These decisions, made in opposition to a vast array of facts, and contrary to the opinions of many of the most distinguished jurists not only of this, but of other States, have stripped the churches of property raised at the communion table or given expressly for the use of the Church by those who never dreamed that their sacred donations would be sequestered to the support of 'another gospel.' The Church in Cambridge owned a valuable set of Communion Plate, parts of which were purchased, as appears from the Records, by church funds, and the rest given by individual members or friends. They had also a fund of nearly $5000,

constituted originally by a small donation from a member, and increased to the above-named sum *entirely by contributions at the Communion*. This, however, with the Plate, has been claimed and recovered by the Church of the First Parish, and is now employed for the support of Unitarian worship, and in the Unitarian celebration of the Sacrament. Individual members of the First Church have furnished their private plate for Communion seasons, until it became inexpedient to depend any longer upon such supply. In this extremity, the providence of God having thrown this interesting and precious manuscript Auto-biography in our way, it seemed good that THOMAS SHEPARD should have the delightful privilege of furnishing his Church with the means of celebrating the Ordinance of their common Saviour. Accordingly a number of copies of the Book sufficient to defray the expense of a plain but suitable Communion Service being engaged, the Church, at their last Communion in Nov., were led to adore the providence of God, in supplying their necessities in this interesting and affecting manner. It required no effort of imagination to conceive of the feelings of Thomas Shepard, were he permitted to see, how that being dead he yet spake to us. We were therefore consoled in a measure for the spoiling of our goods, knowing that we are surrounded by such witnesses, and in the belief that an exception, filed by him at the Great Tribunal, to the treatment of his, and other churches, will come up for a hearing at the great and final day.

This book which is now for the first time presented to the public is a rare specimen of ancient Auto-biography. It is in the form of a 24mo. about 5 inches by 3, bound, and containing 200 pages, 94 of which are filled with the Biography, Diary, and a few scattered accounts of the Author's pecuniary concerns. The book has evidently had many owners. A gentleman in Newbury (Byfield) wrote to the Editor that it was in the possession of another in Medford

On application, it was ascertained that it belonged to the Rev. James Blake Howe, of Claremont, N. H., who, upon an earnest request, very politely gave it to the present owner, in trust, for the First Church, connected (in reference to the decisions of the Courts) with a new Society, called the "Shepard Congregational Society."

This MS. is in all probability the source from which Cotton Mather, in the Magnalia, drew his interesting notices of Shepard. By a comparison, it will be seen that the extracts in the Magnalia are, verbatim, from this Biography.

The book, in addition to the interest which it will give to the lovers of antiquity, and of the curiosities of religious literature, is invaluable as a specimen of simple, childlike confidence in God, of heartfelt and earnest piety, and of an unaffected devotional spirit. It will be found highly instructive from the minute account given of the writer's religious experience, in which it is believed many will find great light and direction.

The original orthography has been carefully preserved. Several sentences, after long deliberation, have been omitted in the transcript, as they were conceived to be, both in matter and manner, unsuited to what some call the fastidiousness, but others the refinement and delicacy of the age.

The avails of this book will be applied to the use of the Church with which the Shepard Society is connected.

EDITOR.

Dedication.

TO MY DEARE SON,

THOMAS SHEPARD,

With whom I leave these records of God's great kindness to him, not knowing that I shall live to tell them myselfe with my own mouth, that so he may learne to know & love the great & most high God,

THE GOD OF HIS FATHER.

Dedication.

Fac-Simile of Thomas Shepard's hand-writing.

To my deare son Thomas Shepard
with whom I leave these records
of Gods great kindnes to him
not knowing that I shall
live to tell them my selfe
with my own mouth,
that so he may learne
to know & love
the great &
most high
God; the God of
his father;

Pendleton's Lithography, Boston.

THE FOLLOWING CHAPTER APPEARS IN THE MS. AS AN

INTRODUCTION.

In the yeare of the Lord 1634, Octob. 16 myselfe, wife and family, with my first son Thomas, committed ourselves to the care of our God to keepe us on, and carry us over the mighty seas from old England to New England; but we had not bin two days on the sea but that the wind arose and drave our ship almost upon the sands, where the Lord did most apparently stretch forth his hands in saving us from them when we were within a very little ready to be dasht in pieces upon them; and this great danger of sinking, and loosing all our lives was twise in two several dayes, that if there had not bin the infinite wisdom and power of God to helpe us, I did not conceive how possibly we could have escaped in such terrible storms.

Now one cause of our going at this time of winter was because we were persecuted in Old England for the truth of Christ which we professed there; we durst not stay to make ourselves known there which would have bin at the bapti-

zing of my child; hence we hastened for New England.

After that we came from the sea, my first son fell sick in passing from the ship to the shore in the boat; of which sickness, within a fortnight after, he died at Yarmouth in Old England, which was no small grief to us; but the Lord preserved us, and provided for me and my wife a hiding-place from the knowledge of our enemies and from their malice, by the meanes of Mrs. Corbet in Norfolke, in one of whose houses we stayed all that hard winter with our dear friend Mr. Roger Harlakendon, and enjoyed a sweet time together in a most retyered manner; so the winter being spent, we were much perplexed whither to goe, and where to stay that we might not be known, and keepe my second child so secretly as that it might not be baptised until it came to take of that ordinance in purity in old England; and being thus doubtful what to doe, the Lord by letters from London called us to come thither, where my wife might have all helpe in her sickness and my child kept secret; and this we concluded for to doe, and therefore tooke our leave of this our winter house, and in our way to London, we went to Mr. Burroughs his house a godly, able minister.

From this place we went to London, and there the Lord provided for my wife and selfe and

friends a very private house, where our friends did us all the good they could, and our enemies could doe us no hurt; where my wife, on the sabbath day being April 5, 1635, was delivered mercifully of this 2d. son Thomas; which name I gave him because we thought the Lord gave me the first son I lost on sea in this, agayne, and hence gave him his brother's name. And so the mother growing strong the child began to grow weake, and I did veryly thinke would have died of a sore mouth; which I taking to hart, the Lord awakened me in the night and stirred me up to pray for him, and that with very much ferving as I thought; and many arguments to presse the Lord for his life came in, as:—

1. The glory the Lord should have by betrusting me with this child, he should be the Lord's forever.

2. Because this kindness would be to me fruit in season, if in the time of my privacy, persecution, and sorrow for the losse of my first child he would give me this, and that other, in this.

3. Because though it was brought very low, yet then was the Lord's time to remember to helpe.

4. Because I thought if the Lord should not hear me now, my soule would be discouraged from seeking to him, because I sought for the first and could not prevayle for his life, and this was sore if the Lord should not hear me for this.

5. Because all healing vertue was in ×t. Jesus hands who was very tender of all that brought their sick unto him.

6. Although my sins might hinder him from doing this, yet I told the Lord his mercy should be the more wonderfull if in healing my child of his sickness he would withall heal me of my sins; —and thus after a sad heavy night the Lord shined upon me in the morning, for I found him suddenly and strangely amended of his sore mouth which I did expect would have bin his death. Oh the tenderness of our God! Remember, therefore, my son, this mercy of the Lord to you. Thus the child with the mother having recovered their strength, we set a second time to sea, and when we went, the child was so feeble that diverse of our friends did conclude the child could not live until it came to New England in a close ship: but the care of God was so great, that it was made much better by the sea, and more lively and strong; and in this voyage, it and all of us were in danger of being drowned by a most terrible leake which the Lord stopt for us; another danger in the ship that the Lord delivered it from was this. The ship in a storm tumbling suddenly on the one side, my wife having the child in her arms was almost pitcht with her head and child in her armes agaynst a post in the ship; and being ready to fall shee felt her-

selfe pluckt back by shee knew not what; whereby shee and the child were agayne preserved; and I cannot ascribe this to any other but the angels of God who are ministering spirits for the heirs of life.

And thus after about eleven weeks sayle from old England, we came to New England shore: where the mother fell sick of a consumption and you my child wert put to nurse to one goodwife Hopkins, who was very tender of thee; and after we had been here diverse weekes on the 7th of February or there about, God gave thee the ordinance of baptism, whereby God is become thy God, and is before hand with thee, that whenever you shall return to God, he will undoubtedly receive you; and this is a most high and happy privilege; and therefore blesse God for it. And now after that this had bin done, thy deare mother dyed in the Lord, departing out of this world to another, who did loose her life by being carefull to preserve thine; for in the ship thou wert so feeble and froward both in the day and night, that hereby shee lost her strength and at last her life. Shee hath made also many a prayer and shed many a tear in secret for thee; and this hath bin oft her request that if the Lord did not intend to glorify himselfe by thee, that he would cut thee off by death rather than to live to dishonor him by sin; and therefore know it that

if you shalt turne rebell agaynst God and forsake God, and care not for the knowledge of him nor to beleeve in his Son, the Lord will make all these mercys, woes; and all thy mother's prayers, teares and death to be a swift witness agaynst thee at the great day.

Thus the Lord taking away thy deare mother's life, the Lord takes care for thee and preserved thee in health untill the spring, May 1, 1636. And now the hand of the Lord was strecht out agaynst my child; so that he had for diverse weekes a sore mouth both within and without; cheeks and lips full of blisters so as that he could eat no meat, only suck the breast, by which only he lived a long time, which I did thinke would have bin its death agayne; but the Lord being sought unto recovered him agayne, and then the humour fell into his eyes, which grew so sore that partly by the humour and party by the ill-handling and applying medicines to them, his eyes grew starke blind with pearles upon both eyes and a white film, insomuch as it was a most dreadfull sight unto all the beholders of him and very pittifull; which was such a misery that methought now I had rather that the Lord would take away my childe by death than let it lead a blind and a miserable life: but the Lord saw my sorrowes, my teares, my poore prayers which were in bitterness for him; and after that I had con-

cluded I must have a blind child to be a constant sorrow to me till my death, and was made to be contented to beare the indignation of the Lord because I had sinned, resolving now to feare nor care nor greeve no more but to be thankfull, nay to love the Lord, presently I say upon this by a poore weake meanes, vizt. the oyle of white paper, the Lord restored my child to his sight suddenly and strangely, I may almost say miraculously agayne, which was no small joy to me and no little encouragement to doe the Lord's worke that tooke so much care for me and mine. Now consider, my son, and remember to lift up thy eyes to heaven, to God in everlasting prayses of him and dependance upon him; and take heed thou dost not make thy eyes windowes of lust, but give thy eyes, nay thy heart and whole soule and body to him that hath been so carefull of thee when thou couldst not care for thyselfe.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

T. { MY BIRTH & LIFE. } S.

In the yeare of Christ 1605 upon the 5 day of November, called the Powder treason day, & that very houre of the day wherin the Parlament should have bin blown up by Popish priests, I was then borne; which occasioned my father to give me this name *Thomas*, because he sayd I would hardly *beleeve* that ever any such wickedness should be attempted by men agaynst so religious and good Parlament. My father's name was William Shepard, borne in a little poore towne in Northamptonshire called Fossecut neare Towcester, & being a prentice to on Mr. Bland a groser he marryed on of his daughters, of whom he begat many children; 3 sons, John, William & Thomas; & 6 daughters; An, Margaret, Mary, Elizabeth, Hestor, Sarah; of all which only John, Thomas, Anna & Margaret are still living in the Town where

I was born, viz. Towcester in Northamptonshire, 6 miles distant from the towne of Northampton in old England. I do well remember my father & have some little remembrance of my mother. My father was a wise prudent man, the peace-maker of the place, & toward his latter end much blessed of God in his estate & in his soule. For there being no good ministry in the town, he was resolved to goe & live at Banbury in Oxfordshire, under a stirring ministry having bought a house there for that end. My mother was a woman much afflicted in conscience sometimes even unto distraction of mind, yet was sweetly recovered agayne before shee died. I being the youngest, shee did beare exceeding great love to me, & made many prayers for me; but shee died when I was about 4 years old & my father lived & marryed a second wife now dwelling in the same town, of whom he begat 2 children, Samuell & Elizabeth, and died when I was about 10 yeares of age. But while my father & mother lived, when I was about 3 yeares old there was a great plague in the Town of Towcester, which swept away many in my father's family, both sisters & servants. I being the youngest & best beloved of my mother was sent away the day the plague brake out to live with my aged grandfather & grandmother in Fossecut, a most blind town & corner, &

those I lived with also being very well to live yet very ignorant; & there was I put to keepe geese & other such country woorke, all that time much neglected of them, & afterwards sent from them unto Adthrop, a little blind town adjoining, to my uncle, where I had more content but did learne to sing & sport as children do in those parts, & dance at their Whitson Ales; untill the plague was removed & my deare mother dead, who died not of the plague but of some other disease after it; & being come home my sister An marryed to on Mr. Farmer, & my sister Margaret loved me much, who afterward marryed to my father's prentice, viz; Mr. Mapler; & my father marryed agayne to another woman who did let me see the difference between my own mother & a step-mother; shee did seeme not to love me but incensed my father agaynst me; it may be that it was justly also for my childishness; & having lived thus for a time, my father sent me to schoole to a Welch man, on Mr. Rico, who kept the Free schoole in the town of Towcester; but he was exceeding curst & cruell & would deale rongly with me, & so discouraged me wholly from desire of learning, that I remember I wished oftentimes myselfe in any condition to keepe hogs or beasts rather than to goe to schoole & learne. But my father was

visited at last with sickness, having taken some cold upon some pills he tooke & so had the Hicketo with his sickness a weeke together, in which time I do remember I did pray very strongly & hartily for the life of my father, & made some covenant, if God would do it to serve him the better, as knowing I should be left alone if he was gone; yet the Lord tooke him away by death, & so I was left fatherless & motherless when I was about 10 yeares old, & was committed to my step-mother to be educated, who therefore had my portion which was a 100 lb. which my father left me. But shee neglecting my education very much, my brother John who was my only brother alive desired to have me out of her hands, to have me with him, & he would bring me up for the use of my portion, & so at last it was granted. And so I lived with this my eldest brother, who showed much love unto me & unto whom I owe much; for him God made to be both father and mother unto me. And it happened that the cruell schoolmaster died & another came into his roome, to be a preacher also in the town who was an eminent preacher in those dayes & accounted holy, but afterward turned a great Apostate & enemy to all righteousness, & I feare did commit the unpardonable sin. Yet it so fell out by God's good providence that this

man stirred up in my hart a love & desire of the honour of learning, & therefore I told my friends I would be a scholar; & so the Lord blessed me in my studies & gave me some knowledge of the Latine & Greeke tongues, but much ungrounded in both. But I was studious because I was ambitious of learning & being a scholar; & hence when I could not take notes of the sermon, I remember I was troubled at it & prayed the Lord earnestly that he would helpe me to note sermons. And I see cause of woondring at the Lord's providence therein, for as soone as ever I had prayed (after my best fashion) then for it, I presently the next Sabbath was able to take notes who the precedent Sabbath could do nothing at all that way. So I continued till I was about 15 yeares of age, & then was conceived to be ripe for the University. And it pleased the Lord to put it into my brother's hart to provide & to seeke to prepare a place for me there, which was done in this manner: On Mr. Cockerille, fellow of Emanuel Colledge in Cambridge, being a Northamptonshire man came down into the country to Northampton, & so sent for me, who upon examination of me gave my brother incouragement to send me up to Cambridge. And so I came up, & though I was very raw & young, yet it pleased God to open the harts of others to admit me

into the Colledge a pensioner, & so Mr. Cockerill became my Tutour. But I doe here wonder & I hope shall blesse the Lord forever in heaven that the Lord did so graciously provide for me. For I have oft thought what a wofull estate I had bin left in, if the Lord had left me in that prophane, ignorant town of Towcester where I was borne, that the Lord should pluck mee out of that sink & Sodom, who was the least in my father's house, forsaken of father & mother, yet that the Lord should fetch me out from thence by such a sweat hand.

The first two years I spent in Cambridge was in studying and in neglect of God & private prayer which I had sometimes used, and I did not regard the Lord at all unless it were at some fits. The third yeare wherin I was Sophister I began to be foolish & proud, to show myselfe in the public schooles there to be a disputer about things which now I see I did not know then at all but only prated about them. Toward the end of this yeare, when I was most vile, (after I had been next unto the gates of death by the small pox the yeare before) the Lord began to call me home to the fellowship of his grace, which was in this manner.

1. I doe remember that I had many good affections (but blind & unconstant) oft cast into me since my father's sickness by the spirit of

God wrastling with me; & hence I would pray in secret, & hence when I was at Cambridge I heard old Doctor Chadderton the master of the Colledge when I came, & the first yeare I was there to heare him upon a Sacrament Day my hart was much affected; but I did brake loose from the Lord agayne, & half a yeare after I heard Mr. Dickinson common place in the chappel upon these words, "I will not destroy it for ten's sake," Gen: 19. & then agayne was much affected, but I shooke this off also & fell from God to loose & lewd company, to lust & pride & gaming & bowling & drinking; yet the Lord left me not, but a godly schollar walking with me fell to discourse about the misery of every man out of ×t., viz: that whatever they did was sin; & this did much affect me; & at another time when I did light in godly company I heard them discourse about the wrath of God & the terrour of it, & how intollerable it was, which they did present by fire, how intolerable the torment of that was for a time; what then would eternity be?—this did much awaken me, & I began to pray agayne; but then by loose company I came to dispute in the schooles, & then to joyne to loose schollars of other colledges, & was fearfully left of God, & fell to drinke with them, & I dranke so much on day that I was dead drunk, & that upon a

Saturday night & was so carryed from the place I had drinked at, & did feast at, unto a scholar's chamber, on Basset of ×'s. colledge; & knew not where I was until I awakened late on that Sabbath & sick with my beastly carnage, & when I awakened I went from him in shame & confusion & went out into the fealds & there spent that Sabbath lying hid in the cornfealds, where the Lord who might justly have cut me off in the midst of my sin, did meet me with much sadness of hart & troubled my soule for this & other my sins which then I had cause & leysure to thinke of, & now when I was woorst he began to be best unto me, & made me resolve to set upon a course of dayly meditation about the evill of sin & my own wayes; yet although I was troubled for this sin, I did not know my sinfull nature all this while.

2. The Lord therefore sent Doctor Preston to be master of the colledge, & Mr. Ston & others commending his preaching to be most spirituall & excellent, I began to listen unto what he sayd. The first sermon he preached was Rom: 12: Be renewed in the spirit of your mind; in opening which point, viz., the change of hart in a ×ian., the Lord so bored my eares as that I understood what he spake, & the secrets of my soule were laid open before me, the hypocrisy of all my good things I thought I had in me; as

if one had told him of all that ever I did, of all the turnings & deceyts of my hart; insomuch as that I thought he was the most searching preacher in the woorld; and I began to love him much & to blesse God I did see my frame & my hypocrisy & selfe & secret sins; although I found a hard hart & could not be affected with them.

3. I did therefore set more constantly, viz. 1624, May 3, upon this worke of dayly meditation, sometimes every morning, but constantly every evening, before supper, & my cheefe meditation was about the evil of sin, the terrour of God's wrath, day of death, beauty of ×t., the deceitfulness of the hart, &c. ; but principally I found this my misery, sin was not my greatest evil, did ly light upon me as yet, yet I was much afrayd of death & the flames of God's wrath; & this I remember, I never went out to meditate in the feelds, but I did find the Lord teaching me somewhat of myselfe or himselfe, or the vanity of the worlde I never saw before; & hence I tooke out a little booke I have into the feelds, & writ down what God taught me least I should forget them, & so the Lord encouraged me, & I grew much; but in my observation of myselfe I did see my Atheisme; I questioned whether there were a God, my unbeleefe whether ×t. was the Messiah, whether the Scriptures were

God's word or no; I felt all manner of temptations to all kind of religions not knowing which I should choose; whether education might not make me beleeve what I had beleeved, & whether if I had bin educated up among the Papists I should not have bin as verily persuaded that Popery is the truth or Turcisme is the truth; & at last I heard of Grindleton, & I did question whether that glorious estate of perfection might not be the truth, & whether old Mr. Rogers's Treatises & the practice of Xianity, the booke which did first worke upon my hart, whether these men were not all Legall men, & there bookes so; but the Lord delivered me at last from them; & in the conclusion after many prayers, meditations & duties, the Lord let me see 3 mayne wounds in my soule. 1. I could not feele sin as my greatest evil. 2. I could do nothing but I did seeke myselfe in it & was imprisoned there, & though I desired to be a preacher, yet it was honour I did looke too, like a vile wretch in the use of God's gifts I desired to have. 3. I felt a depth of Atheisme & unbeleefe in the maine matters of salvation, & whether the Scriptures were God's word; these things did much trouble me, & in the conclusion did so far trouble me, that I could not read the Scriptures or hear them read without secret & hellish blasphemy, calling all into question, & all

×'s. miracles; & hereupon I fell to doubt whether I had not committed the unpardonable sin; & because I did question whether × did not cast out devils from Beelzebub, I did thinke & feare I had; & now the terrours of the Lord began to breake in like floods of fire into my soule; for three quarters of a year this temptation did last, & I had some strong temptations to run my head agaynst walls & braine & kill myselfe; & so I did see as I thought God's eternal reprobation of me, a fruit of which was this dereliction to these doubts & darkness, & I did see God like a consuming fire, & an everlasting burning, & myselfe like a poor prisoner leading to that fire, & the thoughts of eternall reprobation & torment did amaze my spirits, especially at one time upon a sabbath day at evening & when I knew not what to do (for I went to no ×ian, & was ashamed to speake of these things) it came to my mind that I should do as × did; when he was in an agony, he prayed earnestly; & so I fell down to prayer, & being in prayer, I saw myselfe so unholy & God so holy that my spirits began to sinke; yet the Lord recovered me & poured out a spirit of prayer upon me for free mercy & pitty, & in the conclusion of the prayer, I found the Lord helping me to see my unworthiness of any mercy, & that I was worthy to be cast out of

his sight, & so leave myselfe with him to do with me what he would; & then & never until then I found rest; & so my heart was humbled & cast down, & I went with a stayed heart unto supper late that night, & rested there; & so the terrour of the Lord began to assuage sweetly, yet when those were gone I felt my sheeldlessness of sin & bondage to self & unconstancy & loosing what the Lord had wrought; & my hartlessness & loathing of God's wayes; whereupon walking in the feelds the Lord dropt this meditation unto me: Be not discouraged therefore because thou art so vile, but make this double use of it; 1. loathe thyselfe the more; 2. feele a greater neede & put a greater price upon Jesus ×, who only can subdue thee from all sin; & this I found of wonderfull use to me in all my course, whereby I was kept from sinkings of hart, & did beat Satan as it were with his own weapons; & saw ×t. teaching me this before any man preached any such thing unto me. And so the Lord did helpe me to loathe myselfe in some measure, & to say oft why should I seeke the glory & good of myselfe, who am the greatest enemy, worse than the devil can be agaynst myselfe, which selfe ruins me, & blinds mee &c.; & thus God kept my hart exercised, & here I began to forsake my loose company wholly, & to do what

I could to worke upon the harts of other scholars, & to humble them, & to come into a way of holy walking in our speeches & otherwise; (but yet I had no assurance that ×t. was mine.)

4. The Lord therefore brought Dr. Preston to preach from that text 1 Cor. 1: 30, ×t. is made unto us wisdom, righteousness, sanctification & redemption; & when he had opened how all the good I had, all the redemption I had, it was from Jesus ×t., I did then begin to prise him, & he became very sweet unto me, although I had heard many a time ×t. freely offered by his ministry if he would come in, & receive him as Lord & Saviour & husband; but I found my heart ever unwilling to accept of ×t. upon these grounds; I found them impossible for me to keepe that condition, & ×t. was not so sweet as my lust, but now the Lord made himself sweet to me & to embrace him & to give up myselfe unto him; but yet after this I had many feares & doubts.

5. I found therefore the Lord revealing free mercy, & that all my helpe was in that, to give me ×t., & so to enable me to beleeve in ×t., & accept of him, & here I did rest. The Lord also letting mee see my constant vileness in everything. 6. Put mee to this question: why did the Lord Jesus keepe the Law? [Hee] had no guile in his hart, & had no unbrokenness,

but holiness there. Was it not for them that did want it; & here I saw ×t. Jesus' righteousness for a poore sinner's ungodliness: but yet questioning whether ever the Lord would apply this & give this unto mee.

7. The Lord made mee see that so many as received him, he gave power to become the sons of God, John 1: 12; & I saw the Lord gave me a hart to receive ×t., with a naked hand even a naked ×t., & so hee gave me peace.

And thus I continued till I was 6 yeares standing, & then went halfe a yeare before I was Master of Arts, to Mr. Weld's house at Tarling, where I enjoyed the blessing of his & Mr. Hooker's ministry at Chelmsford; but before I came there I was very solicitous what would become of me when I was Master of Arts; for then my time & portion would be spent, but when I came thither & had bin there some little season until I was ready to be Master of Arts, Dr. Wilson had purposed to get me upon a lecture, & give 30 lb. per annum for the maintenance of it; & when I was among those worthies in Essex, where we had monthly fasts, they did propound it unto mee to take the Lecture & to set it up at a great town in Essex called Cogshall. And so Mr. Weld especially prest me unto it & wished me to seeke God about it; & after fasting & prayer, the ministers in those

parts of Essex had a day of humiliation & they did seeke the Lord for direction where to place the Lecture, & toward the evening of that day they began to consider whether I should goe to Cogshall or not. Most of the ministers were for it, because it was a great town, & they did not know any place that did desire it but they. Mr. Hooker only did object agaynst my going thither, for being but young & unexperienced, & there being an old yet sly & malicious minister in the town, who did seem, to give waye to it to have it there, did therefore say it was dangerous for little birds to build under the nests of old ravens & kites. But while they were thus debating it, the town of Earles-Colne being 3 miles off from Essex, hearing that there was such a lecture to be given freely, & considering that the lecture might convict that poore towne, they did therefore just at this time of the day come to the place where the ministers met, viz. at Tarling in Essex to desire that it might be settled there for three yeares (for no longer was it to continue in any place because it was conceived if any good was done, it would be within such a time, & then if it went away from them, the people in a populous towne would be glad to maintayne the man themselves, or if no good was done it was pitty they should have it any longer.) When they

thus came for it the ministers with one joynt consent advised me to accept of the people's call, & to stay among them, if I found upon my preaching a little season with them that they still continued in their desires for my continuance there. Thus I, who was so young, so weake, unexperienced & unfit for so great a woorke, was called out by 12 or 16 ministers of ×t. to the woorke, which did much incourage my hart & for the Lord's goodness herein I shall I hope never forget his love, for I might have been cast away upon a blind place without the helpe of any ministry about me ; I might have been sent to some gentleman's house to have bin corrupted with the sins in it; but this I have found, the Lord was not content to take me from one town to another, but from the woorst town I thinke in the woorld to the best place for knowledge & learning, viz., to Cambridge, & there the Lord was not content to give me good meanes, but the best meanes, & ministry & help of private ×tians., for Dr. Preston & Mr. Goodwin were the most able men for preaching ×t. in this latter age; & when I came from thence, the Lord sent me to the best county in England, viz., to Essex, & set me in the midst of the best ministry in the country, by whose monthely fasts & conferences I found much of God, & thus the Lord Jesus provided

for me of all things of the best. So being resolved to goe unto Earles-Colne in Essex, after my commencing Mr. of Arts, & my sinful taking of orders about a fortnight after of the Bishop of Peterborow, viz., B. Dove; I came to the town & boarded in Mr. Cosins his house, an aged but godly & cheerful ×tian & schoolmaster in the town, by whose society I was much refreshed, there being not one man else in all the town that had any godliness but him, that I could understand; so having preached upon the Sabbath day out of 2. Cor. 5. 19., all the town gave me a call, & set to their hands in writing, & so I saw God would have me to be there, but how to be there & continue there I could not tell; yet I sinfully got a license to officiate the cure of the Bishop of London's register before my name was known; by vertue of that I had much helpe, but when I had been here awhile & the Lord had blessed my labours to diverse in & out of the town, especially to the cheef house in the town, the Priary, Mr. Harlakinder's children, where the Lord wrought mightily upon his eldest son, Richard, (now dwelling there) & afterward on Mr. Roger, who came over with mee to New England & dyed here, Satan began to rage, & the Commissaries, registers, & others to pursue me & to threaten me, as thinking I was a Noncon-

formable man; (when for the most of that time I was not resolved either way, but was darke in those things) yet the Lord having woorke to do in the place kept me a poore ignorant thing agaynst them all untill such time as my woorke was done, by strange & wonderfull means. Notwithstanding all the malice of the ministers round about me, the Lord had one way or other to deliver me. The course I tooke in my preaching was 1. to shew the people their misery. 2. The remedy, ×t. Jesus. 3. How they should walke answerable to his mercy being redeemed by ×t., & so I found the Lord putting forth his strength in my extreame weakness, & not forsaking of me when I was so foolish as I have wondered since why the Lord hath done any good to mee & by mee. So the time of 3 yeares being expired the people would not let me goe, but gathered about £40 yearly for me, & so I was intended to stay there if the Lord would, & prevayled to set up the lecture in the town of Towcester, where I was borne, as knowing no greater love I could express to my poore freends than thus; & so Mr. Ston (Dr. Wilson giving way thereto) had the lecture & went to Towcester with it, where the Lord was with him, & thus I saw the Lord's mercy following me to make me a poor instrument of sending the gospell to the place of my nativity.

So when I had preached awhile at Earles-Colne about half a yeare, the Lord saw me unfit & unworthy to continue me there any longer, & so the Bishop of London Mountaigne being removed to Yorke, & Bishop Laud (now Arch-Bishop) coming in his place as a fierce enemy to all righteousness & a man fitted of God to be a scourge to his people, he presently (not having been long in the place) but sent for me up to London, & there never asking me whether I would subscribe, (as I remember) but what I had to do to preach in his Diocesse, chiding also Dr. Wilson for setting up this lecture in his Diocesse. After many rayling speeches agaynst me, forbad me to preach, & not only so, but if I went to preach, any where else his hand would reach me; & so God put me to silence there, which did somewhat humble me, for I did thinke it was for my sins the Lord did set him thus agaynst me—yet when I was thus silenced the Lord stirred me up freends. The house of the Harlakinders were so many fathers & mothers to me, & they & the people would have me live there, tho, I did nothing but stay in the place, but remayneing about halfe a yeare after this silencing among them, the Lord let me see into the evill of the English Ceremonies, Crosse, surplice and kneeling; and the Bishop of London, viz., Laud, comming down to visit,

he cited me to appeare before him at the court of Reldon, where I appearing he asked me what I did in the place, & I told him I studyed; he asked me what? I told him the fathers; he replyed I might thank him for that, yet charged me to depart the place. I asked him whither I should goe; to the University, said he. I told him I had no meanes to subsist there; yet he charged me to depart the place. Now about this time I had great desire to change my estate; and I had bin praying 3 yeares before that the Lord would carry me to such a place where I might have a meet yoke-fellow, and I had a call at this time to goe to Yorkshire, to preach there in a gentleman's house; but I did not desire to stir till the Bishop fired me out of this place; for the Bishop having thus charged me to depart, and being 2 dayes after to visit at Dunmow in Essex, Mr. Weld, Mr. Daniel Rogers, Mr. Ward, Mr. Marshall, Mr. Wharton consulted together whether it was best to let such a swine to root up God's plants in Essex, and not to give him some check, whereupon it was agreed upon privately at Braintry, that some should speake to him and give him a check; so Mr. Weld and I travilling together had some thought of going to New England, but we did thinke it best to goe unto Ireland and preach there, and to goe by Scotland thither;

but when we came to the church, Mr. Weld stood and heard without (being excommunicated by him.) I being now free went within, and after sermon Mr. Weld went up to hear the Bishop speake, and being seene to follow the Bishop, the first thing he did was to examine Mr. Weld what he did to follow him, and to stand upon holy ground; thereupon he was committed to the Pursevant and bound over to answer it at the high Commission; but when Mr. Weld was pleading for himself and that it was ignorance that made him come in, the Bishop asked whither he intended to goe, whether to New England, and if so whether I would goe with him. While he was thus speaking I came into the crowd and heard the words, others bid me goe away but neglecting to do it, a godly man pulled me away with violence out of the crowd; and as soon as ever I was done the Apparitor calls for Mr. Shepard and the Pursevant was sent presently after to finde me out, but he that pulled me away (Mr. Holbeech by name, a schoolmaster at Felsted in Essex) hastened our horses, and away we rid as fast as we could, and so the Lord delivered us out of the hand of that lyon a third time; and now I perceived I could not stay in Colne without danger, and hereupon receiveing a letter from Mr. Ezekiel Rogers, then living at Rowly in York-

shire to encourage me to come to the knight's house, called Sir Richard Darley, dwelling at a town called Buttercrambe, and the knight's two sons, viz. Mr. Henry and Mr. Richard Darley, promising me £20 a yeare for their part, and the knight promising me my table, and the letters sent to me crying with that voyce of the man of Macedonia, come and help us; hereupon I resolved to follow the Lord to so remote and strange a place, the rather because I might be far from the hearing of the malicious Bishop Laud, who had threatened me if I preached any where. So when I was determined to goe, the gentleman sent a man to me to be my guide in my journey, who comming for me, with much greefe of hart I forsook Essex and Earles-Colne and they me; going as it were now I knew not whither.

So as we traviled (which was 5 or 6 days together neare unto Winter) the Lord sent much raine and ill weather, insomuch as the floods were up when we came neare Yorkshire, and hardly passable; at last we came to a towne called Ferrybrig, where the waters were up and ran over the bridge for halfe a mile together and more; so we hired a guide to lead us, but when he had gone a little way the violence of the water was such that he first fell in, and after him another man, who was neare drowning before

my eyes, whereupon my hart was so smitten with feare of the danger, and my head so dizyed with the running of the water, that had not the Lord immediately upheld me and my horse also, and so provided it, I had certainly perished that rout, but the Lord was strong in my weaknes. We went on by some little direction upon the bridge, and at last I fell in, yet in a place where the waters were not so violent but I sate upon my horse, which being a very good horse clambered up upon the bridge agayne, but Mr. Darley's man for feare of me, fell in also but came out safe agayne and so we came to the dry land, where we had a house and shifted ourselves and went to prayer and blest God for the wonderful preservation of us, and the Lord made me then to professe that I now looked upon my life as a new life given unto me, which I saw good reason to give up unto him and his service, and truly about this time the Lord that had only dealt gently with me before, began to afflict me and let me taste how good it was to be under his tutouring, so I came to Yorke late upon Saturday night, and having refresht ourselves there, I came to Buttercrambe to Sir Richard's house that night very wet and late, which is about 7 miles off from Yorke.

Now as soon as I came into the house I found diverse of them at Dice and Tables. Mr.

Richard Darley one of the brothers being to return to London the Munday after and being desirous to hear me preach, sent me speedily to my lodgings (the best in the house) and so I preached the day after once and then he departed the day after, having carefully desired my comfortable abode there, but I do remember I never was so low sunk in my spirit as about this time, for, 1. I was now far from all freends, 2. I was I saw in a profane house, not any sincerely good. 3. I was in a vile wicked town and country. 4. I was unknown and exposed to all wrongs. 5. I was unsufficient to do any woorke, and my sins were upon me, and hereupon I was very low and sunke deepe, yet the Lord did not leave me comfortless, for tho the Lady was churlish, yet Sir Richard was ingenious, and I found in the house 3 servants, viz. Tho. Fugill, Mrs. Margaret Tauteville, the knight's kinswoman, that was afterwards my wife, and Ruth Bushell (who married to Edward Michelson) very carefull of me, which somewhat refreshed me, but it happened that when I had bin there a little while there was a marriage of one Mr. Allured, a most prophane young gentleman, to Sir Richard's daughter. I was desired to preach at their marriage, at which sermon the Lord first toucht the hart of Mrs. Margaret with very great terrors for sin, and her

Christless estate, whereupon others began to looke about them, especially the gentlewoman lately married, Mrs. Allured; and the Lord brake both their hearts very kindly, then others in the family, viz. Mr. Allured. He fell to fasting and prayer and great reformation; others also were reformed and their hearts changed, the whole family brought to external duties; but I remember none in the town or about it brought home; and thus the Lord was with me and gave us favour and freends and respect of all in the family, and the Lord taught me much of his goodness and sweetness, and when he had fitted a wife for me he then gave me her, who was a most sweet humble woman full of Christ, and a very discerning ×tian.; a wife, who was most incomparably loving to me and every way amiable and holy and endued with a very sweet spirit of prayer; and thus the Lord answered my desires, when my adversaries intended most hurt to me, the Lord was then best unto me and used me the more kindly in every place; for the Lord turned all the sons and Sir Richard and Mr. Allured so unto me that they not only gave her freely to be my wife, but enlarged her portion also; and thus I did marry the best and fittest woman in the woorld unto me, after I had preached in this place about a 12 month; for which mercy to me, in my exiled condition in a

strange place I did promise the Lord that this mercy should knit my hart the nearer to him and that his love should constrain me; but I have ill requited the Lord since that time; and forgot myself and my promise also.

But now when we were marryed in the yeare 1632, shee was unwilling to stay at Buttercrambe, and I saw no means or likelyhood of abode there, for Bishop Neale comming up to Yorke, no freends could procure my liberty of him without subscription; and hereupon the Lord gave me a call to Northumberland, to a town, called Heddon, 5 miles beyond Newcastle, which when I had considered of and saw no place but that to goe unto, and saw the people very desirous of it, and that I might preach there in peace being far from any Bishops I did resolve to depart thither, and so being accompanied with Mr. Allured to the place I came not without many feares of enemies and my poore wife full of fears. It was not a place of subsistence with any comfort to me there; but the good Lord, who all my life followed me, made this place the fittest for me, and I found many sweet freends and Xtian acquaintance, Mrs. Sherbourne maintaining me, and Mrs. Fenwick lending us the use of her house, so God comforted us in our solitary and yet marryed condition many wayes.

Now when I was here the Lord blest my labours both to the saynts and sundry others about Newcastle, and I came here to read & know more of the Ceremonies, Church government and estate, and the unlawful standing of Bishops than in any other place. I lived at Mrs. Fenwick's house for a time about a 12 month or half a yeare, and then we went and dwelt alone in a town neare Heddon called ———, in a house which we found haunted with the devil as we conceived, for when we came in to it a known witch went out of it, and being troubled with noyses 4 or 5 nights together, we sought God by prayer to remove so sore a tryall, and the Lord heard and blest us there and removed the trouble, but after we were settled the Bishop put in a Priest, who would not suffer me to preach publikely any more. Hereupon the meanes was used to the Bishop of Durham, Bishop Morton and he professed he durst not give me liberty because Laud had taken notice of me, so I preached up and down in the country, and at last privately in Mr. Fenwick's house, and there I stayed till Mr. Cotton, Mr. Hooker, Ston, Weld went to New England, and hereupon most of the godly in England were awakened and intended much to goe to New England, and I having a call by diverse freends in New England to come over, and many in Old England desiring me to goe over

and promising to goe with me I did hereupon resolve to goe thither, especially considering the season, and thus the Lord blest me in this darke country and gave me a son called Thomas, Anno 1633 ; my poore wife being in sore extremities 4 dayes by reason she had an unskilful midwife; but as the affliction was very bitter, so the Lord did teach me much by it, and I had need of it, for I began to grow secretly proud and full of sensuality delighting my soul in my deare wife more than in my God, whom I had promised better unto, and my spirit grew fierce in some things, and secretly mindless of the souls of the people, but the Lord by this affliction of my wife learnt me to desire to feare him more and to keep his dread in my hart; and so seeing I had bin tossed from the South to the North of England and now could goe no farther, I then began to listen to a call to New England.

The reasons, which swayed me to come to N. E. were many. 1. I saw no call to any other place in Old England nor way of subsistence in peace and comfort to me and my family, 2. Diverse people in Old England of my dear freends desired me to goe to N. E. there to live together, and some went before and writ to me of providing a place for a company of us, one of which was John Bridge, and I saw diverse families of my Xtian freends, who were resolved thither to goe with me.

3. I saw the Lord departed from England when Mr. Hooker and Mr. Cotton were gone, and I saw the harts of most of the godly set and bent that way, and I did think I should feele many miseries if I stayed behind.

4. My judgement was then convinced not only of the evil of ceremonies, but of mixt communion, and joyning with such in sacraments, tho, I ever judged it lawfull to joyne with them in preaching.

5. I saw it my duty to desire the fruition of all God's ordinances, which I could not enjoy in Old England.

6. My dear wife did much long to see me settled there in peace and so put me on to it.

7. Although it was true I should stay and suffer for ×t. yet I saw no rule for it now the Lord had opened a doore of escape; otherwise I did incline much to stay and suffer especially after our sea stormes.

8. Tho' my ends were mixt and I looked much to my own quiet, yet the Lord let me see the glory of those Liberties in N. England, and made me purpose, if ever I come over, to live among God's people as one come out from the dead, to his praise; tho' since I have seene as the Lord's goodness, so my own exceeding weakness to be as good as I thought to have bin, and although they did desire me to stay in the

North and preach privately yet, 1. I saw that this time could not be long without trouble from King Charles.

2. I saw no reason to spend my time privately when I might possibly exercise my talent publikely in N. E.

3. I did hope my going over might make them to follow me.

4. I considered how sad a thing it would be for me to leave my wife and child (if I should dy in that rude place of the North) where was nothing but barbarous wickedness generally, and how sweet it would be to leave them among God's people tho' poore.

5. My liberty in private was dayly threatened, and I thought it wisdom to depart before the Pursevants came out, for so I might depart with more peace and lesser trouble and danger to me and my freends, and I knew not whether God would have me to hazard my person and comfort of me and all mine, for a disorderly manner of preaching privately (as it was reputed) in those parts, so after I had preached my farewell sermon at Newcastle I departed from the North in a ship laden with coles for Ipswich, about the beginning of June, after I had bin about a year in the North the Lord having blest some few sermons and notes to diverse in Newcastle, from whom I parted filled with their love, and so the

Lord gave us a speedy voyage from thence to Ipswich in Old England, whether I came in a disguised manner with my wife and child and mayd, and stayed awhile at Mr. Russel's house, another while at Mr. Collins, his house, and then went down to Essex to the town where I had preached, viz. Earles-Colne to Mr. Richard Harlakenden's house where I lived privately with much love from them all; as also from Mr. Joseph Cooke, and also with freends at London and Northamptonshire. Truly I found this time of my life wherein I was so tossed up and downe and had no place of settling, but kept secret in regard of the Bishops, the most uncomfortable and fruitless time to my own soul especially that ever I had in my life; therefore I did long to be in N. E. as soon as might be, and therefore there being diverse godly Xtians resolved to goe toward the latter end of the yeare, if I would goe; I did therefore resolve to goe that yeare, the end of the summer I came from the North; and the time appointed for the ship to goe out was about a month or fortnight before Michaelmas (as they here call it.) The ship was called the Hope of Ipswich, the master of it (a very able seaman) was Mr. Gurling, who professed much love to me, who had got this ship of 400 tun from the Danes, and as some report, it was by some fraud; but he denyed it

and being a man very loving and full of fayre promises of going at the time appointed, and an able seaman; hence we resolved to adventure that time tho' dangerous in regard of the approaching winter. Now here the Lord's wonderfull terrour and mercy to us did appeare.

For being come to Ipswich with my family at the time appointed the ship was not ready and we stayed 6 or 8 weeks longer than the time promised for her going; and so it was very late in the yeare, and very dangerous to goe to sea, and indeed if we had gone, doubtless we had all perished upon the seas, it being so extreame cold and tempestuous winter; but yet we could not goe back when we had gone so far, and the Lord saw it good to chastise us for rushing onward too soone, and hazarding ourselves in that manner, and I had many feares and much darkness (I remember) overspread my soule, doubting of our way, yet I say we could not goe back only I learnt from that time never to goe about a sad businesse in the darke, unless God's call within as well as that without be very strong and cleare and comfortable, so that in the year 1634, about the beginning of the winter, we set saile from Harwich, and having gone some few leagues on to the sea; the wind stopt us that night and so we cast anchor in a dangerous place, and on the morning the wind grew fierce

and rough agaynst us full, and drave us toward the sands, but the vessel being laden too heavy at the head would not stir for all that which the seamen could doe, but drave us full upon the sands neare Harwich harbour; and the ship did grate upon the sands, and was in great danger; but the Lord directed one man to cut some cable or rope in the ship and so shee was turned about and was beaten quite backward toward Yarmouth, quite out of our way; but while the ship was in this great danger, a wonderfull miraculous providence did appear to us, for one of the seamen, that he might save the vessel fell in when it was in that danger, and so was carryed a mile or more from the ship, and given for dead and gone; the ship was then in such danger that none could attend to follow him; and when it was out of the danger it was a very great hazard to the lives of any that would take the skiph and seek to find him; yet it pleased the Lord that being discerned afar off floating upon the waters, 3 of the seamen adventured out upon the rough waters, and at last about an houre after he fell into the sea (as we apprehended) they came and found him floating upon the waters, never able to swim, but supported by a divine hand all this while, when the men came to him they were glad to find him, but concluded he was dead, and so got him into the

skiph, and when he was there tumbled him down as one dead, yet one of them said to the rest let us use what meanes we can if there be life to preserve it. And thereupon turned his head downward for the water to run out, and having done so, the fellow began to gaspe and breathe, then they applied other meanes they had ; and so he began at last to move and then to speake and by that time he came to ship he was pretty well and able to walke; and so the Lord shewed us his great power, whereupon a godly man in the ship then sayd this man's danger and deliverance is a type of ours, for he did feare dangers were neare unto us and that yet the Lord's power h ould be shewn in saving of us, for so indeed it was; for the wind did drive us quite backward out of our way and gave us no place to anchor at until we came unto Yarmouth rodes, an open place at sea yet fit for anchorage, but otherwise a very dangerous place, and so we came thither thorow many uncomfortble hazards within 30 hours and cast anchor in Yarmouth rodes, which when we had done upon a Saturday morning the Lord sent a most dreadfull, and terrible storm of wind from the West, so dreadfull that to this day the seamen call it Windy Saturday ; that it also scattered many ships in diverse coasts at that time, and diverse ships were cast away, one among the rest which

was the seaman's ship who came with us from New Castle was cast away and he and all his were perished, but when the wind thus arose the master cast all his anchors, but the storm was so terrible that the anchors broke and the ship drave toward the sands where we could not be cast away; whereupon the master cries out that we were dead men, and thereupon the whole company goe to prayer, but the vessel drave so neare to the sands that the master shot off two pieces of ordnance to the town for helpe to save the passengers. The town perceived it and 1000ds came upon the walls of Yarmouth, and looked upon us, hearing we were New England men, and pittyed much and gave us for gone, because they saw other ships perishing neare unto us at that time; but could not send any helpe unto us, tho' much mony was offered by some to hazard themselves for us; so the master, not knowing what to do, it pleased the Lord that there was one Mr. Cork a drunken fellow but no seaman, yet one that had bin at sea often, would come in a humour unto New England with us; whether it was to see the country or no I cannot tell, but sure I am God intended it for good unto us to make him an instrument to save all our lives; for he persuaded the master to cut down his mainemast. The master was unwilling to it, and besotted, not

sensible of ours and his own losse. At last this Cork calls for hatchets, tells the master if you be a man save the lives of your passengers, cut down your mainemast. Hereupon he encouraged all the company, who were forlorne and hopeless of life, and the seamen presently cut down the mast aboard, just at that very time wherein we all gave ourselves for gone to see neither Old nor New England, nor faces of freends any more, there being neare upon 200 passengers, and so when the mast was down, the master had one little anchor left, and cast it out, but the ship was driven away toward the sands still, and the seamen came to us and bid us looke (pointing to the place) where our graves should shortly be; conceiving also that the wind had broken off this anchor also; so the master professed he had done what he could, and therefore now desired us to goe to prayer, so Mr. Norton in one place and myself in another part of the ship, he with the passengers and myself with the mariners above decks, went to prayer and committed our soules and bodies unto the Lord that gave them; immediately after prayer the wind began to abate and the ship stayed, for the last anchor was not broke (as we conceived) but only rent up with the wind and so drave, and was drawn along plowing the sands with the violence of the wind; which

abating after prayer (tho' still very terrible) the ship was stopt just when it was ready to be swallowed up of the sands, a very little way off from it; and so we rid it out, yet not without fear of our lives, tho' the anchor stopt the ship; because the cable was let out so far that a little rope held the cable, and the cable, the little anchor, and the little anchor the great ship in this great storme, but when one of the company perceived that we were so strangely preserved, had these woords, "that threed we hang by will save us;" for so we accounted of the rope fastened to the anchor, in comparison of the fierce storme; and so indeed it did, the Lord shewing his dreadful power towards us, and yet his unspeakable rich mercy to us, who in depths of mercy heard, nay helped us, where we could not cry throw the disconsolate fears we had, out of these depths of seas and miseries; this deliverance was so great that I then did thinke if ever the Lord did bring me to shore agayne I would live like one come and risen from the dead. This is one of those living mercies the Lord hath shown me, a mercy to myselfe, to my wife and child then living, and unto my deare freends then with me viz. brother Champney, Frost, Goff and diverse others, most deare saints; and also to all with me, and how would the name of the Lord suffered, if we had so perished; that the Lord Jesus

should have respect to me so vile and one at that time full of many temptations and weaknesses, amazed much, and deeply afrayd of God's terrour, yet supported.

I desire this mercy may be remembered of my children and their children's children when I am dead, and cannot prayse the Lord in the land of the living any more; and so we continued that night, many sick, many weake, and discouraged, many sad harts; yet upon the Sabbath morning we departed and went out of the ship; I feare a little too soone for we should have spent that day in praysing of him, yet we were afraid of neglecting a season of providence in going out while we had a calm; and many sick folke were unfit for that woorke and had need of refreshing at shore. So upon the Sabbath day morning boats came to our vessel from the town; and so my deare wife and child went in the first boat, but here the Lord saw that these matters were not sufficient to wash away my filth and sinfulness and therefore he cast me into the fire as soon as ever I was upon the sea in the boat, for there my first borne child very precious to my soule, and dearly beloved of me was smitten with sickness, the Lord sent a vomiting upon it whereby it grew faint and nothing that we could use could stop its vomiting altho we had many helps at Yarmouth and this

was a very bitter affliction to me and the Lord now showed me my weake faith, want of feare, pride, carnall content, immoderate love of creatures, and of my child especially, and begat in me some desires and purposes to feare his name; but yet the Lord would not be intreated for the life of it and after a fortnight's sickness at last it gave up the ghost, when its mother had given it up to the Lord and was buried at Yarmouth, where I durst not be present least the Pursevants should apprehend me and I should be discovered which was a great affliction and very bitter to me and my deare wife, and hereby I saw the Lord did come neare to me, and I did verily feare the Lord would take away my wife also, if not myselfe not long after and these afflictions together with the Lord's crossing us and being so directly agaynst our voyage made me secretly willing to stay and suffer in England and my hart was not so much toward New England, yet this satisfied me that seeing there was a dore opened of escape, why should I suffer, and I considered how unfit I was to goe to such a good land with such an unmortified hard darke formall hypocriticall hart and therefore no wonder if the Lord did thus crosse me; and the Lord made me feare my affliction came in part for running too far in a way of separation from the Assemblies in England, tho' I blesse God I have ever

believed there are true churches in many parishes in England where the Lord sets up able men and ministers of his gospell; and I have abhorred to refuse to heare any able minister in England; so that now having buried my first borne and being in great sadness and not knowing where to goe nor what to doe, the Lord sent Mr. Roger Harlakenden and my brother Samuel Shepard to visit me after they had heard of our escape at sea, who much refreshed us and clave to me in my sorrowes, and being casting about where to goe and live, Mr. Bridge their minister in Norwich sent for me to come and live with him, and being come, one Mrs. Corbett, who lived five miles off Norwich an aged eminent godly gentlewoman hearing of my comming and that by being with Mr. Bridge might hazard his liberty by countenancing of me, she did therefore freely offer to me a great house of hers standing empty at a towne called Bastwick, and there the Lord stird up her hart to shew all love to me, which did much lighten and sweeten my sorrowes, and I saw the Lord Jesus' care herein to me and saw cause of trusting him in times of straits, who set me in such a place, where I lived for half a yeare all the winter long among and with my friends (Mr. Harlakenden dwelling with me bearing all the charge of housekeeping) and far from the no-

tice of my enemies, where we enjoyed sweet fellowship one with another and also with God, in a house which was fit to entertayne any prince for faireness, greatnes and pleasantness. Here the Lord hid us all the winter long, and when it was fit to travayle in the Spring we went up to London, Mr. Harlakenden not forsaking me all this while, for he was a father and mother to me, and when we came to London to Mrs. Sherborne not knowing what to doe nor where to live privately, the Lord provided a very private place for us; where my second son Thomas, was borne, and none but our freends did know of it, and so by this meanes my son was not baptized until we came to New England the winter following, being borne in London, Aprill 5, 1635. When we had bin also at London for a time and began to be known in the place my wife was sick, the Lord put it into our harts to remoove to another place in Mr. Eldred's house in London, which stood empty and the very night we were all come away, there came the Pursevants and others to search after us, but the Lord delivered us out of their hands, and so when the Lord had recovered my wife, we began to prepare for a removal over agayne to New England. And the Lord seemed to make our way playne.

1. Because I had no other call to any place in England.

2. Many more of God's people resolved to goe with me, as Mr. Roger Harlakenden and Mr. Champney, &c.

3. The Lord saw our unfitness and the unfitness of our going the yeare before, and therefore giving us good freeness to accompany us, and good company in the ship we set forward about the 10 of August 1635, with myselfe, wife and my little son Thomas and other precious freends, having tasted much of God's mercy in England and lamenting the losse of our native country when we tooke our last view of it. In our voyage upon the sea the Lord was very tender of me and kept me from violence of the sea sickness. In our comming we were refreshed with the society of Mr. Wilson, Mr. Jones by their fayth and prayers and preaching. The ship we came in was very rotten and unfit for such a voyage, and therefore the first storme we had, we had a very great leake, which did much apall and affect us; yet the Lord discovered it unto us when we were thinking of returning back agayne; and much comforted our harts. We had many storms, in one of which my deare wife tooke such a cold and got such weakness as that shee fell into a consumption, of which shee afterward dyed; and also the Lord preserved her with the child in her armes from eminent and apparent death, for by the

shaking of the ship in a violent storme her head was pitcht agaynst an iron bolt and the Lord miraculously preserved the child and recovered my wife: This was a great affliction to me, and was a cause of many sad thoughts in the ship how to behave myselfe when I came to New England. My resolutions I have written down in my little booke; and so the Lord after many sad storms and wearisome days and many longings to see the shore, the Lord brought us to the sight of it upon Oct. 2, Anno 1635 and upon Oct. the 3d. we arrived with my wife, child, brother Samuel, Mr. Harlakenden, Mr. Cooke, &c., at Boston with rejoicing in our God after a longsome voyage, my deare wive's great desire being now fulfilled, which was to leave me in safety from the hand of my enemies and among God's people, and also the child under God's precious ordinances.

Now when we came upon shore we were kindly saluted and entertained by many freends and were the first 3 dayes in the house of Mr. Coddington being treasurer at that time, and that with much love.

When we had been here two dayes, upon Munday Oct. 5, we came (being sent for by freends at Newtown) to them to my brother Mr. Ston's house; and that congregation being upon their remooval to Hartford at Connecticut, myselfe

and those that came with me found many houses empty and many persons willing to sell, and here our company bought off their houses to dwell in until we should see another place fit to remove unto, but having bin here some time diverse of our brethren did desire to sit still and not to remoove farther, partly because of the fellowship of the churches, partly because they thought their lives were short and remoovals to near plantations full of troubles, partly because they found sufficient for themselves and their company. Hereupon there was a purpose to enter into church fellowship, which we did the yeare after about the end of the winter; a fortnight after which my deare wife Margaret dyed, being first received into church fellowship, which as she much longed for so the Lord did so sweeten it unto her, that she was hereby exceedingly cheered and comforted with the sense of God's love, which continued until her last gaspe.

No sooner were we thus set down and entered into church fellowship; but the Lord exercised us and the whole country with the opinions of Familists; begun by Mrs. Hutchinson, raised up to a great height by Mr. Vane, too suddenly chosen governour and maintained too obscurely by Mr. Cotton, and propagated too boldly by the members of Boston, and some

in other churches by meanes of which divisions by those opinions, the ancient received truth çame to be darkened, God's name to be blasphemed, the churche's glory diminished, many godly greeved, many wretches hardened, deceiving and being deceived, growing woorse and woorse; the principall opinion and seed of all the rest was this, viz., that a ×tian should not take any evidence of God's special grace and love towards him by the sight of any graces or conditionall evangelicall promises to fayth or sanctification in way of ratiocination; for this was evidence and so a way of woorks, but it must be without the sight of any grace, faith, holiness or special change in himselfe by immediate revelation and because that the whole scripture do give such cleare, plaine and notable evidences of favour to persons called and sanctified; hence they said that a second evidence might be taken from hence but no first evidence; but from hence it arose that as all error is fruitfull, so this opinion did gender above a hundred monstrous opinions in the country; which the elders perceiving having used all private brotherly meanes with Mr. Cotton first, and yet no healing, hereupon they publikely preached both against opinions publikely and privately maintayned; and I account it no small mercy to myselfe that the Lord kept

me from that contagion and gave me any hart or light to see thorow those devises of men's heads; altho I found it a most uncomfortable time to live in contention, and the Lord was graciously pleased by giving witnesse agaynst them to keepe his poore church spotless and cleare from them. This division in the church began to trouble the commonwealth. Mr. Wheelwright, a man of a bold and stiff conceipt of his own woorth and light preached (as the Court judged) a seditious sermon, stirring up all sorts agaynst those that preached a covenant of woorks; meaning all the Elders in the country, that preached justification by fayth and assurance of it by sight of fayth, and sanctification, being enabled thereto by the spirit: The troubles thus increasing and all meanes used for crushing and curing these sorts a synod was thought of and called, from the example, Acts 15, wherein by the helpe of all the Elders joyned together, those errours thorow the grace and power of ×t. were discovered, the defenders of them convinced and ashamed, the truth stablished, and the consciences of the saynts settled; there being a most wonderful presence of ×t's spirit in that assembly held at Cambridge An. 1637, about August and continued a month together in publike agitations; for the issue of this synod was this.

1. The Pekoat Indians were fully discomfited, for as the opinions arose, wars did arise, and when these began to be crusht by the ministry of the Elders and by opposing Mr. Vane and casting him and others from being magistrates ye enemies began to be crusht and were perfectly subdued by the end of the synod.

2. The magistrates tooke counsel and exiled Mr. Wheelright, Mrs. Hutchinson and diverse Ilanders, whom the Lord did strangely discover, giving most of them over to all manner of filthy opinions, until many that held with them before were ashamed of them; and so the Lord within one yeare wrought a great change among us.

At this time I cannot omit the goodness of God as to myselfe, so to all the country in delivering us from the Pekoat furies. These Indians were the stoutest, proudest and most successfull in their wars of all the Indians. Their cheef Sachem was Sassakus, a proud, cruel and unhappy and headstrong prince, who not willing to be guided by the persuasions of his fellow, an aged Sachem Monianattuck, nor fearing the revenge of the English, having first suckt the blood of Captain Ston and Mr. Oldam and found it so sweet, and his proceedings for one whole winter so successfull, that having besieged and killed about four men that kept

Seabrook fort, he adventured to fall upon the English in the river at Wethersfield where he slew 9 or ten men, women and children at unawares and tooke two maids prisoners, carrying them away captive to the Pekoat country. Hereupon those upon the river first gathered about seventy men and sent them into the Pekoat country, to make that the seat of war, and to revenge the death of those innocents, whom they barbarously and most unnaturally slew; these men marched two days and nights from the way of the Naraganset unto Pekoat. Being guided by those Indians, then the ancient enemies of the Pekoats, they intended to assault Sasukus fort, but falling short of it the second night the Providence of God guided them to another nearer, full of stout men and there brot soldiers, being as it were coopt up there, to the number of three or four hundred in all for the divine slaughter by the hand of the English. These therefore being all night making merry and singing the death of the English the next day. Toward breake of the day being very heavy with sleep the English drew neare within the sight of the fort, very weary with travayle and want of sleepe, at which time five hundred Naragansets fled for feare and only two of the company stood to it to conduct them to the fort and the doors and entrances thereof.

The English being come to it awakened the fort with a peale of muskets, directed into the midst of their wigwams, and after this, some undertaking to compasse the fort without, some adventured into the fort upon the very faces of the enemy standing ready with their arrows ready bent to shoot whoever should adventure, but the English casting by their peeces, took their swords in their hands (the Lord doubling their strength and courage) and fell upon the Indians, where a hot fight continued about the space of an houre, at last by the direction of one Captayne Mason their wigwams were set on fire as being dry and contiguous one to another was right dreadfull to the Indians, some burning, some bleeding to death by the sword, some resisting till they were cut off, some flying were beat down by the men without, until the Lord had utterly consumed the whole company except four or five girles they tooke prisoners, and dealt with them at Seabrooke as they dealt with ours at Wethersfield, and tis verily thought scarce one man escaped unless one or two to carry foorth tydings of the lamentable end of their fellowes; and of the English not one man was killed, but one by the musket of an Englishman (as was conceived), some were wounded much, but all recovered and restored agayne.

Thus the Lord having delivered the country

from war with Indians and Familists (who arose and fell together) he was pleased to direct the harts of the magistrates (then keeping Court ordinarily in our town because of their stirs at Boston) to thinke of erecting a Schoole or Colledge and that speedily to be a nursery of knowledge in these deserts and supply for posterity, and because this towne (then called Newtowne) was hereto [by] God's great care and goodness kept spotless from the contagion of the opinions, therefore at the desire of some of our town the Deputies of the Court having got Mr. Eaton to attend the Schoole, the Court for that and sundry other reasons determined to erect the Colledge here, which was no sooner done but the cheefe of the magistrates and Elders sent to England to desire helpe to forward this woorke, but they all neglecting us (in a manner) the Lord put it into the hart of one Mr. Harvard, who dyed woorth £1600 to give halfe his estate to the erecting of the schoole. This man was a scholar and pious in his life and enlarged toward the country and the good of it in life and death, but no sooner was this given but Mr. Eaton (professing valiantly yet falsely and most deceitfully the feare of God) did lavish out a great part of it, and being for his cruelty to his schollers, especially to one Biscoe and as also for some other wantonness in life not so notoriously known

driven the country; the Lord about a yeare after, graciously made up the breach by one Mr. Dunstar, a man pious, painfull and fit to teach and very fit to lay the foundations of the domesticall affairs of the Colledge; whom God hath much honoured and blessed.

The sin of Mr. Eaton was at first not so clearly discerned by me, yet after more full information I saw his sin great and my ignorance and want of wisdom and watchfulness over him very great, for which I desire to mourn all my life and for the breach of his family.

But thus the Lord hath bin very good unto me, in planting the place I lived in with such a mercy to myselfe, such a blessing to my children and the country, such an opportunity of doing good to many by doing good to students, as the schoole is.

After this I fell sick after Mr. Harlakenden's death, my most deare freend, and most precious servant of Jesus ×t.; and when I was very low and my blood much corrupted, the Lord revived me and after that tooke pleasure in me to bless my labours that I was not altogether useless nor fruitless.

And not only to speake by me to his people but likewise to print my notes upon the nine principles I intended to proceed on with in Yorkshire, but never intended them or imagined

they should be for the presse; yet six of them being finished in Old England and printed and the other 3 desired, I finished (the Lord helping) those at Cambridge and so sent them to England, where they also are printed, which I do not glory in (for I know my weakness) that my name is up by this meanes but that the Lord may be pleased to do some good by them there in my absence, for I have seene the Lord making improvement of my weak abilities as far as they could reach, and of myselfe to the utmost, which I desire to blesse his name forever for.

Oct. 1637. The yeare after those wars in the country God having taken away my first wife, the Lord gave me a second, the eldest daughter of Mr. Hooker. a blessed store; and the Lord hath made her a great blessing to me to carry on matters in the family with much care and wisdom and to seeke the Lord God of her father.

The first child I had by her (being a son) dyed. The second (whom the Lord, I blesse, hath hitherto spared) viz. my little Samuel, is yet living. The third son viz. my son John, after 16 weeks, departed on the Sabbath day morning, a day of rest to the bosom of rest to him who gave it, which was no small affliction and heart-breaking to me that I should provoke

the Lord to strike at my innocent children for my sake.

The Lord thus afflicting yet continued peace to the country, that amazing mercy when all England and Europe are in a flame the Lord hath set me and my children aside from the flames of the fires in Yorkshire and Northumberland, whence if we had not bin delivered, I had bin in great afflictions and temptations, very weake and unfit to be tossed up and downe and to brave violent persecution; the Lord therefore hath shewed his tenderness to me and mine in carrying me to a land of peace, tho' a place of tryall; where the Lord hath made the savage Indians, who conspired the death of all the English by Miantinomo upon a sudden if Uncas could have bin cut off first, who stood in their way and determined an open war upon us by the privy suggestions of Neutrall English from the Iland; to seeke for peace from us upon our own termes without blood shed, Aug. 26. 1645.

But the Lord hath not bin woont to let me live long without some affliction or other, yet ever mixt with some mercy, and therefore April the 2d 1646, as he gave me another son, John, so he tooke away my most deare, precious, meeke and loving wife, having left behind her two hopefull branches very dear children, Samuel and John. This affliction was very heavy

to me, for in it the Lord seemed to withdraw his tender care for me and mine, which he graciously manifested by my deare wife, also refused to hear prayer when I did thinke he would have hearkened and let me see his bewty in the land of the living in restoring of her to health agayne; also taking her away in the prime time of her life, when shee might have lived to have glorified the Lord long, also in threatening me to proceed in rooting out my family, and that he would not stop having begun here as in Ely for not being zealous enough agaynst the sins of his son, and I saw that if I had profited by former afflictions of this nature, I should not have had this scourge; but I am the Lord's, and he may doe with me what he will; he did teach me to prize a little grace gained by a crosse as a sufficient recompence for all outward losses, but this losse was very great; shee was a woman of incomparable meekness of spirit towards myselfe especially, and very loving; of great prudence to take care for and order my family affayres being neither too lavish nor sordid in any thing so that I knew not what was under her hands: She had an excellency to reproove for sin and discerne the evills of men. She loved God's people dearly and studious to profit by their fellowship and therefore loved their company. She loved God's word exceed-

ingly, and hence was glad shee could read my notes, which she had to muse on every weeke. She had a spirit of prayer beyond ordinary of her time and experience. She was fit to dy long before she did dy, even after the death of her first born, which was a great affliction to her, but her woorke not being done then, she lived almost 9 yeares with me and was the comfort of my life to me and the last sacrament before her lying in, seemed to be full of Christ and thereby fitted for heaven. Shee did oft say shee should not outlive this child; and when her fever first began (by taking some cold) shee told me soe that we should love exceedingly together because we should not live long together. Her paine tooke away her sleepe, want of sleepe wrought much distemper in her head and filled it with fantasies and distractions, but without raging. The night before shee dyed, shee had about 6 hours unquiet sleepe, but that so cooled and settled her head, that when she knew none else so as to speake to them, yet she knew Jesus ×t. and could speake to him and therefore as soone as she awakened out of sleepe shee brake out into a most heavenly hart-breaking prayer after ×t. her deare Redeemer for the spirit of life; and so continued praying until the last hour of her death, "Lord tho' I [am] unworthy, Lord, one woord, one

woord, &c." and so gave up the ghost: thus God hath visited and scourged me for my sins and sought to weane we from this woorld, but I have ever found it a difficult thing to profit even but a little by the sorest and sharpest afflictions.

The writer pauses in his account of himself within a very few years of his death. The last date in the foregoing pages is that of the birth of his son, April 2d, 1646, and he died Aug. 25, 1649: So that only three years at most intervened between the finishing of his biography, and his death. He was however married the third time, 1647, to Margaret Boradill. Their son Jeremiah was afterward minister of Lynn.[1]

It will be proper to give in this connexion the remaining contents of the little Book.

ANNO 1629.

THE GOOD THINGS I HAVE RECEIVED OF THE LORD.

1. He is the God of my being, who might have made me a woorme.

2. He is the God of my life and length of dayes, with health, which I have enjoyed long.

3. He is the God who tooke me up, when my

[1] Farmer.

own mother dyed, who loved me, and when my stepmother cared not for me, and when my father also dyed, and forsooke me when I was young and little, and could not take care for myselfe.

4. He is the God, that brought me out of Egypt, that prophane and wicked town where I was borne and bred under the care of one of my own brethren and that gave me time and will to desire learning, where if I had lived, I had sinned and bin forever damned.

5. He is the God that brought me, the last and most despised of my father's house to the University of Cambridge and strangely made way for me there, after many prayers for it and promises (when I was young) to be the Lord's, if he should do that for me; tho' it were by spending all the portion my father left me, which accordingly was done.

6. He is the God that began to strive with me there as soone almost as I came thither, by Mr. Dickinson and Dr. Chadderton's sermons, and although I oft resisted the Lord and neglected secret prayer, and care of his ways a long time and followed my bowling loose company until I came to that height of pride that for their sakes I was once or twice dead drunke and lived in speculative wantonness (yet still refrayned from grosse acts of sin which some of my own familiars were to their horrour and

shame overtaken with) yet at this very time of being woorst and under wrath the Lord dealt most graciously with me, and made my last act of drunkenness the beginning of more serious thoughts of making my peace with God.

7. He is the God that when I was thus in this place made me acquainted with many godly freends, whose lives and examples were or might have bin, patterns to me. Mr. Ston, Mr. Simonds, whose speeches God alway blest to me especially when they described God's wrath by the fire side, and the intollerable torment of the fire, and when in walking with one I heard him set out men's misery that all they did was sin without ×t., and he blessed also their counsel to me to read the practise of ×tianity, which did much affect me, and to heare Dr. Preston.

8. It is the God that sent I thinke the best ministers in the woorld to call me, Dr. Preston, and Mr. Goodwin. The words of the first at the first sermon he made when he came into the College as Master of it, and diverse that he preached at that time, did open my hart and convince me of my unbeleefe, and of a total emptiness, of all enmity agaynst all good; and the Lord made me honour him highly and love him dearly although many godly men spake agaynst him.

9. He is the God that set me not only to at-

tend upon the woord publikely, but to private meditations and prayer, in which I seldom sought but found the Lord taking me out of the woorld when I was scoffed at for what I did, and I so found him in meditation that I was constrained to carry my booke into the feelds to wright down what God ——

10. In these ordinances he is the God that convinced me of my guilt, filth of sin, self seeking and love of honour of men in all I did, and humbled me under both so as to set a higher price on ×t. and grace, and to loath myselfe the more, and so I was eased of a woorld of discouragement. He also shewed me the worth of ×t. and made my soul satisfied with him and cleave to him, because God had made him righteousness, 1 Cor. 1 : 3. and here also revealed his free justification and gave me support and rest upon and in his promises made to them that receive him as Lord and king, which I found my hart unwilling to love; which was the ground or rather occasion of many temptations of Atheisme, Judaisme, Familisme, Popery, despaire as having sinned the unpardonable sin; but yet the Lord at last made me yield up myselfe to his condemning will as good, which gave me great peace, quietness, thorow the blood and pitty of ×t. I have met with all kinds of temptations, but after my conversion

was never tempted to Arminianisme, my own experience so sensibly confuting the freedom of will.

11. He is the God which melted my hart after a relapse from the glorious condition I had in Cambridge, by taking a journey into the country with a carnal professor, and this the Lord did when I never sought nor regarded him.

12. He is the God that made me a poore meanes of scattering the knowledge of ×t. and setting up days of fasting and holy conference and conscientious Sabbath keeping. I was weake every way and young among the schollars, where I lived and to study what to do for the Lord.

13. He is the God that carryed me into Essex from Cambridge and gave me the most sweet society of so many godly ministers, as Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Wells, and Mr. Wharton, Mr. Bedell, and Mr. Barrowes, &c., although I could do no good among them.

14. He is the God that sent me by all these ministers to obey the voice of God and the call of the people of Earles-Colne, a most prophane place, where the Lord blessed my poore labours to Mr. Harlakenden and his family, and to many others in the town and country and how the Lord kept me from troubles 3 yeares and a halfe until the Bishop Laud put me to silence

and would not let me live in the town, and this he did, when I looked to be made a shame and confusion to all.

The following is a Specimen of the Author's Book-keeping.

John Bridge hath £8 of what I am to receive from my brother

Received of Giles Archer £54 the other shilling was not in his booke

Received of him of Towcester 50*s.* at one time and 30*s.* at another time, in all £4.

My brother Samuel owes me for the house	£83
and I lent him - - - - - -	10
So that in all tis - - - - -	£93

I received from my brother Samuel

1. from himselfe from the ship - - -	£5
2. By Mr. Winthrop - - - - -	20
3 He paid to Mr. Hooker for me in lieu of the house - - - - - - -	65
£10 of which £65 was borrowed of me so that partly to myselfe and partly to Mr. Hooker, my brother hath payd—to Mr. Hooker	55
to myselfe - - - - - - -	25
So that I have received in all for him for the payment of his house - - - - -	80
So that he now owes me - - -	13
To my brother Davenport for taking in the meadow in long march - - - -	1 1 7
To Mr. Andrews for rate - - - -	2 0 0
To John Bridge - - - -	2 0 0
To Mr. Andrews - -	£19 or 20

Delivered to Mr. Buckly	£10
To my brother Samuel	10
out of it	24
To Mr. Buckly again	15
In all	25
My brother Sam paid to Mr. Hooker	65
I have paid to Mr. Buckly for him	25
So that there is not paid	90

To rec'd	£93	Do.	£3 0
1 rec'd	5	Per. meadow	1 1 7
2 rec'd	20	For rates to Andover	2 0
3 rec'd	65	To John Bridge	2 0 0
Sum	£90		£6 3 7
		Paid also to Mr. Andrews for his house	19
			£25 3 7

Lent to my brother Town	£2
Lent to Ministers for Farneside	3
Brother Champney hath of John Birchenson his money	2

To John Trumble for carriage due in Mr. Goodwin's books	6s.
to him for fetching Mr. Harryer	4
to him for goodman Orts	1 4
	s.11 4

Reckonings between Robert and I

	£	s.	d.
All reckonings being made even I paid him	5	17	7
Of his year's wages, which came to £7			
so that there remains to be paid - -	1	2	5

May 1, 1646.

I paid to Robert Latham for his second year's service upon Nov. 12, 1646, eight pound, of which he received £3 in money and £5 of Mr. Glover of Dorchester.

There remayns due to Robert £1 5 5 because he paid *s*3 to one for me.

Also I am to remember him for his time from Michælmas to Nov. 9, which he left to me to give him any thing or nothing, for he was one week with me and had his board freely.

I left to pay for nayles a 11*d.* having given him *s*2 3 for part of them.

The MS. also contains the following paragraph, by a modern hand.

'In another Manuscript of Mr. Shepards, there is this passage—"Dec. 16, 1630, I was inhibited from preaching in the Diocess of London by Dr. Laud, Bishop of that Diocess. As soon as I came in the morning about 8 of the clock, falling into a fit of rage he asked me what degree I had taken in the University. I answered, I was Master of Arts. He asked me of what Colledge? I answered of Emanuel. He asked me how long I had lived in his Dio-

cess? I answered 3 years and upwards. He asked who maintained me all this while, charging me to deal plainly with him, adding withal that he had been more cheated and equivocated with by some of my malignant faction than ever man was by Jesuit. At the speaking of which words he looked as though blood would have gushed out of his face, and did shake as if he had been haunted with an ague fit,—to my apprehension, by reason of his extreme malice and secret venome. I desired him to excuse me. He fell then to threaten me and withal to bitter railing, calling me all to nought, saying —" You prating coxcomb, do you think all the learning is in your brain?" He pronounced his sentence thus. I charge you that you neither preach, read, marry, bury, or exercise any ministerial functions in any part of my Diocess; for if you do, and I hear of it, I'll be upon your back and follow you wherever you go, in any part of this kingdom, and so everlastingly disenable you. I besought him not to deal so in behalf of a poore town,—here he stopt me in what I was going to say,—" a poor town! You have made a company of seditious factious bedlams. And what do you prate to me of a poor town? " I prayed him to suffer me to catechise on the Sabbath days, in the afternoon. He replied, " spare your breath, I'll have no such

fellows prate in my Diocess. Get you gone! And make your complaints to whom you will!" So away I went—and blessed be God that I may go to HIM."

PRIVATE MEDITATION.

I seeke not the Lord in prayer till I find him

h. 1. I manifest contempt of ×t., can live without him

2. contempt of his

3. Forsake ×t., who loves my company and is angry with me for not keeping it.

2. Then I goe from prayer and follow my calling but not for the Lord, am not holy in all manner of conversation, and hence I loose what I got in prayer, nay forget what I gained and so make no progresse in a ×tian course, and so either there is no life of ×t. which is most sad, or if there be any I crucify it and disfigure it and put it to open shame, which is most sad also.

3. I maintayne me a will and firme resolution, when I see to avoyd those practises. Remember my soule to wait all the day long upon him to plant it in thee, for my soyle will not bear it nor bring it foorth.

4. I would faine have notice of a worke of grace in my hart that so I might be comforted in the midst of my sins, which I am not resolved to leave.

APRIL 4, 1639.

PREPARATION FOR A FAST.

May not I be the cause of the churches' sorrowes, which are renewed upon us, for what have the sheepe done?

For 1. My hart lying long out from the Lord 1. sent a terrible storme at sea to awaken me, and the deliverance from it was so sweet that I could not but thinke my life should after that be only heavenly, as being called from an apparent death to live a new life.

2. Immediately upon this my child was taken from me, my first borne, which made me remember how bitter it was to crosse the Lord's love.

3. Set my face towards New England; when considering the liberties of God's house I resolved and thought it fit to be wholly for the Lord in all manner of holiness at bed and board.

4. Then the Lord tooke my deare wife from me, and this made me resolve to delyght no more in creatures, but in the Lord to seeke him.

5. Then the Lord threatened blindness to my child, and this made God's will afflicting sweet to me, but much more commanding and promising that I would do his will and leave those things

to himself, but oh how is my gold become dim and how little have I answered the Lord, considering also my ship resolutions, which I have writ down. I have wanted both remembrance, hart, strength, or will to do any of these things, and therefore have not cause to blame the Lord, for he hath persuaded my hart to this, but my own concupiscence and vile sins, which, Lord that I may mourn for, that thou mayst restore comforts to me. Apostacy from God is grievous, tho' but in a little degree; to serve Satan without promise, to forsake the Lord's promise. What evill have I found in the Lord's? This brings more disgrace upon the Lord than if there never had bin any coming to him. This is a sin against more love Lord might never have drawn.

2. The people being committed to me 1. not pittyed some, 2. nor prayed for, 3. nor visited, 4. nor have I shewn much love unto.

3. The family I have not edifyed, nor instructed, nor taken all occasions of speech with them.

4. The gospel I have preached 1. not seene in the glory, 2. not beleeved, 3. not affected at, 4. not seeking to Xt. for supply, that all has bin dead woorke, and fruit of pride.

5. Walking dayly without that approving myselfe unto him and his, tho' I do his woorke yet

I do not mind him in it, his command and his presence—nor yet any endeavour to grow somewhat every day.

6. My not lamenting the falls of professors and condition of the country, who are not indeed the glory of God in the woorld nor the holy people.

Is it not hence

1. That many pillars in this church have fallen, as if the Lord would not betrust such precious vessels to my care, and hath not the sorrow lyen upon me.

2. h. universal mortality, when Hezekiah's hart was lifted up, then wrath came not only on him but on all the rest.

3. h. I have had this long sickness as if the Lord would delight no more in me to use me.

O my God, who shall be like to thee in pardoning and subduing mine iniquities.

This is all of Mr. Shepard's writing which is legible in the MS. There are a few pages by another hand, but of these the following only is intelligible:

W^{n} a soul may know he shall be able to hold out in time of tryall:

1. W^{n} his soul is in fear he shall be not able to hold out but shall fail the L^{d} in time of tryall, and is brought tharby to hang on God's naked marcy to uphold him, and pris that marcy.

2. He must then beleeve if the inioyment of that marcy be good for him, or the taking away of such a comfort from him or deliverance from an affliction be best for him the L^d will undoubtedly give it or withhold it, and this the soul is bound to beleeve and heereby to perswad his hart he shall be inabled to answer the L^d's exspecktatione

2 Cor. 12: 10.

It would seem that this was written by way of meditation upon certain passages in Mr. Shepard's life.

The following are some of the particulars of Mr. Shepard's death. "Returning home from a council at Rowly, he fell into a quinsie with a symptomatical fever, which suddenly stopped a *silver trumpet*, from whence the people of God had often heard *the joyful sound*. Among other passages uttered by him when he lay a dying, he addressed those that were about him with these words: '*Oh love the Lord Jesus very much: that little part I have in him is no small comfort to me now.*'[1] "He said to the young ministers around him, '*That their work was great, and called for great seriousness,*' and mentioned to them three things concerning himself: *That*

[1] Cotton Mather, Book III. Chap V. Magnalia.

the study of every Sermon cost him tears:' 'That before he preached any Sermon he got good by it himself:' and '*That he always went into the pulpit as if he were to give up his account to his Master.*'[1]

He left three sons, viz. Thomas, Pastor of the first Church in Charlestown, Jeremiah, Minister of Lynn, and Samuel, who also entered the Ministry but died at an early age.[2]

The following notices of Shepard are found in various cotemporary authors.

One writer calls him, 'That gratious, sweete Heavenly minded and soule-ravishing Minister, Mr. *Thomas Shepheard*, in whose soule the Lord shed abroad his love so abundantly, that thousands of souls have cause to blesse God for him, even at this very day, who are the seale of his ministrey, and hee a man of a thousand, indued with abundance of true saving knowledge for himselfe and others, yet his naturall parts were weake, but spent to the full.'[3]

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[1] Historical Collections, Vol. VII. First Series, p. 44.
[2] Historical Collections, Vol. VI. p. 604. Second Series.
[3] Wonder Working Providence of Zion's Saviour, p. 77.

FORMATION OF THE CHURCH AT CAMBRIDGE AND INTRODUCTION OF MR. SHEPARD TO THE PASTORAL OFFICE.

'Mr. Shepherd a godly minister came lately out of England, and diverse other good Christians intending to raise a chh. Body came and acquainted y^e^ magistrates herewith who gave their approbation. They also sent to all the neighbouring Chhs. for the Elders to give y assistance att a certain day att Newtown, (Cambridge) when y^y^ should constitute this Body; and accordingly att this day there met a great assembly when y^e^ Proceeding was as followeth.

'Mr. Shepherd and two others (who hereafter to be chosen to office) Sat together in y^e^ Elders seat: when y^e^ Elder of them began with Prayer. After this, Mr. Shepherd prayed, with deep confession of Sin, and Exercised out of Eph. V. that he might make it to himself a holy, &c. and also opened y^e^ cause of y^e^ Meeting, &c. Then y^e^ Elder desired to know of y^e^ Chh. assembled, what number were needful to make a Chh., and how they ought to proceed in this action. Whereupon some of y^e^ Ancient Ministers conferring severally together made answer, That y^e^ Scripture did not set down any certain rule for y^e^ number. Three they thought were too few, because by Matt. 18, an appeal was

allowed to be made from three; But that seven might be a fitt number. And for their proceeding they advised that such as were to join should make Confession of their faith, and declare what worke of grace the Lord had wrought in them. Which accordingly they did, Mr. Shepherd first: then 4 others: then y^e^ Elder, and one who was to be a Deacon (who had also prayed) and another member. Then y^e^ Covenant was read, and they all gave a solemn assent to it. Then y^e^ Elder desired of y^e^ Churches, that if they did approve them to be a Church, they would give them y^e^ right hand of Fellowship. Whereupon Mr. Cotton (upon Short Speech with some others near him) in y^e^ name of the Churches gave his hand to the Elder, with a Short Speech of their assent, and desired y^e^ peace of the Lord Jesus to be with them.—Then Mr. Shepherd made an Exhortation to y^e^ rest of this Body about y^e^ nature of their Covenant and to stand firm to it, and commended to y^e^ Lord in a most heavenly Prayer.—Then y^e^ Elder told the assembly that they were intended to choose Mr. Shepherd for their Pastor, (by y^e^ name of y^r^ Brother who *Exercised*) and desired the Churches that if they had any thing to Except against him they would impart it before y^e^ day of Ordination. Then he gave y^e^ churches

hands, for their assistance, and so left them to y^e^ Lord.' [1]

The following Letters are copied from the Original MSS. in the possession of the "Historical Society," and are a great curiosity. Mr. Shepard was on the Council called to lay the foundation of Mr. Richard Mather's Church in Dorchester, but was not satisfied with the evidence given by three individuals of being suitable persons to found a Church. Upon his return to Cambridge he wrote the following letter to Mr. Mather, assigning his reasons for the bold and faithful stand which he took before the Council. It is well worthy of perusal by those who are in like manner called upon to lay the foundation of Churches.

[SUPERSCRIPTION.]

To his loving friend and brother, Mr. Madder's, at Dorchester be these dd.

Deare brother,

As it was a sad thing to us to defer the uniting of your people together, so it would add affliction to my sorrow, if that yourselfe, (whom the Lord hath abundantly qualified and fitted for himselfe,) and church and people should take to hart too

[1] This is copied from the Records of the First Church in Cambridge, being a letter from Rev. Dr. Stiles. of Newport, 1772, to Rev. Dr. Appleton, then Pastor, in order to supply the place of the account of the formation of the Church, supposed to be contained in the first Vol. of Records unfortunately lost. Dr. Stiles copies from the "MS. of Gov. Winthrop's Journal." See Winthrop's Journal, 1635, Mo. 12.

much so solemn a demurre and stop to the proceedings of those that were to be united to you; for what would this be but a privy quarrelling at the wise providence of our God, that knows what physick is best to be given, and a greeving indeed for that good hand of God, in which we ought abundantly to rejoice, for I am confident of it that there is nothing in his cup so bitter, but by waiting awhile yourselfe and people will find such sweetness in the bottom and conclusion of it as shall make you and them a double amends. David had a great desire to build the Lord a temple, and he was content with the sad message of the prophet, he must not do it, his son should. It was quite honour enough unto him to provide stuff for it. I persuade myselfe the Lord intends to do more for you, and by you, in the place where the Lord hath set you, and that he will honour you with a more glorious service than that of Solomon's, to build him a temple not of stones, but of saints elect and precious, yet you know how many yeares Solomon waited before the temple came to be erected.

All the stones of it were hewn and hammered out in mount Lebanon, so that no axe nor hammer was heard knocking while the temple was a building. 1 Kings 6: 7. Oh, let not a little waiting be grievous or sad to you while your stones, your people, are preparing themselves,

or the Lord rather is preparing of them, to be built on the foundation stone, that when you meet agayne together, there may not be any hammer heard, any doubt made, any pause occasioned, by any neglect of them in not seeking to gather their evidences better, both to quiet their owne soules before the Lord, and to satisfy the consciences of other men. As for myselfe I was very loth to speake, but I thought (and I have found it since) that I should neither be accounted faithfull to the church that sent me, neither should I manifest the tenderness of the good of your people, if I had not spoken what I did. I did confesse, and do confesse still, that, although there were divers weaknesses in most which I did, and do willingly with a spirit of love, cover and passe by, as knowing what I am myselfe, yet there were 3 of them cheefly, that I was not satisfyed scarce in any measure with, their profession of their faith; not but that I doe believe upon your own tryall of them (which I persuade myselfe will not be slighty in laying a foundation) but that they might have grace, yet because we came not here to find gracious harts, but to see them too. 'Tis not faith but visible faith, that must make a visible church, and be the foundation of visible communion, which faith I say, because my weaknes could not then see in some of them

by their professions, I therefore spake what I did with respect to yourselfe and tendernes also to them that so they might either expresse themselves more fully for satisfaction of the churches (which I did chiefly desire) or if there were not time for this, that they might defer till another time, which you see was the generall vote of all the churches which course I have and do thinke hath this 3 fold good wrapt up in it. 1. That if your people then doubtfull to us, be indeed sincere, this might make them more humble and make them search themselves more narrowly, and make them cast away all their blurred evidences, and get fairer and shew better, and so find more peace and keep more close to God than ever before; and on the contrary, if they be unsound that this might be a meanes to discover them, for either you will find them proud, passionate and discontented at this (which I believe is far from all of them) or else you will see that this doth little good, and woorkes little upon them ; which unto my own selfe would be a shrewd evidence of little or no grace, if the majesty and presence of God in so many churches so ready to receive you, should woorke no more awe nor sad laying to hart such a sentence as this hath bin; for believe it, brother, we have bin generally mistaken in most men, and in great professors these times have lately shewn, and

this place hath discovered more false harts than ever we saw before ; and it will be your comfort to be very wary and very sharpe in looking to the harts and spirits of those you signe yourselfe unto especially at first ; least you meet with those sad breaches, which other churches have had, and all by want of care or skill to pick foorth fit stones for so glorious a foundation as posterity to come may build upon and blesse the Lord.

2. By this meanes others will not be too forward to set upon this woorke, which after sad tryall will be found utterly unfit for it ; for 'tis not a woorke for all professors, nor for all godly men to lay a foundation of a church, for many godly men may have some od distemps that may make for the ruine of the building, therefore not fit for a foundation; many godly men are weake and simple and unable to discerne, and so may easily receive in such as may afterward ruine them, hence unfit to lay a foundation, not that I judge thus of your people. I dare not thinke soe, but if those that be fit have bin stopt thus in their way, how will this make others to tremble and feare, in attempting this woorke lesse able than yourselves.

3. By this meanes I beleeve and hope that the communion of saints will be set at a higher price, when 'tis seene that 'tis not an honour that the Lord will alway put on nor bestow and

give away unto his own people. I doe therefore intreat you in the Lord that you would not hang down your head, but rejoyce at this good providence of the Lord, which will abound so much to his prayse and your future peace; neither let it discourage you nor any of your brethren to goe on in the woorke for after times; but having looked over their own evidences a little better, and humbled their soules for this, and thirsting the more after the Lord in his temple and ordinances, while with David they are deprived for a season of them; that hereafter you would come foorth agayne (it may be some of your virgins have bin sleeping and this may awaken them) with your lamps trimmed, your lamps burning, your wedding garments on to meet the bridegroome; and if others will fall and sleep agayne, and not get their oyle when they have had this warning, what do they do but discover themselves to be but foolish ones; who though they knock hereafter and cry Lord, Lord, it may be ×t nor his spouse will ever let them in. Thus with my unfaigned love to all your brethren, whom I honour and tender in the Lord, with my poor prayers for you and them that in his time he would unite and bring you together, I rest in great hast.

Your brother in Christ,

THO. SHEPARD.

From Newtown (Cambridge)
April 2, 1636.

The following is Mr. Mather's answer.

Deare brother,

Your letter hath been very welcome to me and so hath also your counsell therein, not to be too much troubled at the stay and stop, which the good hand of the Lord hath put to our intended proceedings. And as for what you spake that day I blesse the Lord for it, I am so farre from any hard thoughts towards you for y^e^ same, y^t^ you have by your free and faithfull dealing that day endeared yourselfe in my esteeme more than ever; though you were alwaies much honored & very dear unto mee. And blessed be the name of our good God forever y^t^ put it into your hearts and mouths, all of you to expresse yourselves as you did, for we now see (though farre from what we might see, but y^e^ Lord now hath given us some poore measure to see) our unworthinesse of such a privilege as church communion is, and our unfitnesse for such a worke as to enter into covenant with himself and to bee accepted of his people; neither is it any discouragement to me at all y^t^ such a barre and stopp was put in our way, we being so unworthy; but here, brother, is the thing which my soul hath most need of, even to be humbled for our presuming to attempt so farre, & for our abusing the Lord's name & or-

dinances, & the presence of his saints; not bringing us y^e^ wedding garment fairly putt upon us, which only might have made us accepted in y^e^ eyes of y^e^ King, & of all his servaunts there present y^t^ day: Alas for it, y^t^ we had not hearts to addresse our selves in better manner to such a weighty service; & y^t^ pride should prick us on without due consideration of what we took in hand; but y^e^ Lord saw our disease, & hath given us physicke suteable; Oh pray for us y^t^ it may have a kindly working on us for our healing. Indeed he hath let us blood in y^e^ right veyne, for arrogancy was our distemper, and hee hath given us a medicine for it accordingly, & fit it was that our high mynd should be followed by a fall & with contempt. The Lord is just & holy, & we are worthy only of everlasting shame & contempt. I have great reason here to take shame unto myself & to receive the portion which the Lord tenders mee to drink for the healing the pride and vain-glory of my heart.

Deare Sir, helpe a poore creature, I beseech you by your prayers for an humble spirit; who see the Lord calling on mee for it by his woord & by this good providence of his, & yet cannot bee humbled for all this. If you knew or could beleeve that it were with mee this way as indeed it is, you would pray for mee; & pray earnestly too, as in a matter of great need; in-

deed so great y^t^ I cannot tell you of my pride, but my proud heart is tickled with pride even at y^e^ very telling of it. Oh that I were sensible of it, & could bewaile it, and crave helpe against it without fayning & without counterfetting or hypocrisy.

Good Sir, pray for mee. If y^e^ Lord heale the distemps of my spirit at your request in the name of y^e^ Lord Jesus, your reward shall be great; & if he meanes to do my soul good, it may be he will moove you to pray for mee therein; and if he so do, no doubt (however it may go with mee) your labour shall not be lost, but your prayers will turn into your own bosome. Now as concerning our attempting y^e^ worke agayne, I know not what to say, but this I may say truely; If y^e^ counterfetting Gibeonites were made hewers of wood & drawers of water, because they beguiled Israel to enter into league & covenant with them, when they were not y^e^ men y^t^ they seemed to be; it is as much as we are worthy of (oh y^t^ I could say this word feelingly & without fayning) that we may be hewers of wood &c. for y^e^ churches here because we attempted a league & covenant with the churches, & were not worthy of such a matter nor meet to be covenanted with, though (blessed be y^e^ Lord for it) y^e^ heads of y^e^ congregation of the Lord's Israel here were not soe

hasty & rash & credulous, as they were in the days of Joshua. And for my own particular thus : If y^e^ Lord say hee hath no delight in mee, nor will accept any such service as this at my hand, I desire to say what David in the like case could say it without fayning & with a feeling heart, behold here am I, let him do as seemeth good in his eyes. 2 Sam. 15: 26. for indeed if this work had gone forward I perceive it was in the heart of them that attempted ***** & have ** a tyme upon some further worke & office among themselves, now I am too ** of my own insuffitiency for such worke by them intended, yet I have no reason to be sorry for aught the Lord hath done, for such things I know to be needfull in the Pastors & Teachers of churches, & myselfe so insufficient for them, y^t^ I have looked at the attempted joyning in Church-fellowship with some feare & trembling; in regard of the heavy burden, which might have been laid on my shoulders, if his worke had gone forward. Now it may be bec. y^e^ Lord sees mee, as indeed I am, not able nor fit for such worke as was by men intended espetially to bring myselfe along, they therefore [have] done as we see, & therefore I am lesse grieved at the stopp, which he hath made. But you will say why then did you present yourselfe with the people before the Lord & the churches. I will

tell you the truth therein. They pressed me unto it with much importunity, & so did others also; till I was ashamed to deny any longer, & laid it on mee as a thing to which I was bound in conscience to assent, bec. if I yielded not to joyne there would be (said they) no church at all in this place, & so a tribe, as it were, should perish out of Israel, & all through my default. This kind of arguing meeting that inward vainglory, which I spake of before was it y^{t} drew mee forward, & prevailed against that consciousnesse of my owne insufficiency, & against that timorousnesse that sometymes I have found in myselfe. But why then did we bring stones so unhammered & unhewn, evidences of faith no fairer &c. In this, Sir, you lay your finger upon our sore directly, neither can we here put in any other plea but guilty. The good Lord pardon, saith Hezekiah, every one that prepareth his heart to seeke God, though he be not cleansed according to the purification of the sanctuary. Let us beg the help of your prayers for pardon herein as Hezekiah did, pardon for y^{t} people, & for more grace & care y^{t} if we ever come forth again for y^{e} same purpose (which for my part I am much afraid to do) we may not come to the dishonour of God, & griefe of his saints as the last time we did. The Lord render you a rich & plentifull reward for your love &

faithfulnesse. **** It was pride that made me afraid to have my weaknesses espied, yea it was pride that induced me to yield to their importunity, because I was desirous to have the glory & praise of being tractable & easy when intreated & not to be noted for a stubborne & of a stiff spirit. Now good Sir, strive for me with the Lord y^t^ he y^t^ resisteth y^e^ proud and giveth grace to the humble, would worke in me another spirit, for you see I am wholly composed of pride.

To my deare friend & very loving brother
Mr. THOMAS SHEPARD, at New Towne. dd.

After an account of Mrs. Hutchinson's heresies in 1636, the author of 'The wonder working Providence of Zion's Saviour' gives this curious narration.[1]

"But to end this dismall yeare of sixteene hundred thirty-six, take here the sorrowfull complaint of a poore soule in misse of its expectation at landing, who being incountered with some Errorists at his first landing, when he saw that good old way of *Christ* rejected by them, and hee could not skill in that new light, which was the common theame of every man's Discourse, hee betooke him to a narrow *Indian* path, in which his serious Meditations soone led

1 Page 101.

him, where none but senceless Trees and ecchoing Rocks make answer to his heart-easeing mone. Oh quoth he where am I become, is this the place where those Reverend Preachers are fled, that *Christ* was pleased to make use of to rouse up his rich graces in many a drooping soule; here have I met with some that tell mee, I must take a naked *Christ*. Oh, woe is mee if *Christ* be naked to mee, wherewith shall I be cloathed, but methinks I most wonder they tell me of casting of all godly sorrow for sin as unbeseeming a soule, that is united to *Christ* by Faith, and there was a little nimbled tongued woman among them, who said she could bring me acquainted with one of her own sex that would shew me a way, if I could attaine it, even Revelations, full of such ravishing joy that I should never have cause to be sorry for sinne, so long as I live, and as for her part shee had attained it already; a company of legall Professors, quoth she lie poring on the Law which *Christ* hath abolished, and when you breake it then you breake your joy, and now no way will serve your time, but a deepe sorrow. These and divers others expressions intimate unto mee, that here I shall finde little increase in the Graces of *Christ*, through the hearing of his word Preached, and other of his blessed Ordinances. Oh cunning Devill, the

Lord Christ rebuke thee, that under pretence of a free and ample Gospell shuts out the soule from partaking with the Divine Nature of *Christ*, in that mysticall Union of his Blessed Spirit creating, and continuing his Graces in the soule: my deare *Christ*, it was thy work that moved me hither to come, hoping to find thy powerfull presence in the Preaching of the Word, although administered by sorry men, subject to like infirmities with others of God's people, and also by the glass of the Law, to have my sinfull corrupt nature discovered daily more and more, and my utter inability of any thing that is good, magnifying hereby the free grace of *Christ;* who of his good will and pleasure worketh in us to will and to doe, working all our works in us and for us.

"But here they tell me of a naked *Christ*. What is the whole life of a Christian upon this Earth? But through the power of *Christ* to die to sinne, and live to holinesse and righteousnesse, and for that end to be diligent in the use of meanes: at the uttering of this word he starts up from the greene bed of his complainte, with resolution to hear some one of these able Ministers Preach (whom report had so valued) before his will should make choyce of any one principle, though of crossing the broade Seas back againe, then turning his face to the Sun, he

steered his course to the next Town, and after some small travell hee came to a large plaine, no sooner was hee entered thereon, but hearing the sound of a Drum he was directed toward it by a broade beaten way, following this rode he demands of the next man he met what the signall of the Drum ment, the reply was made they had as yet no Bell to call men to meeting; and therefore made use of a Drum. Who is it, quoth hee, Lectures at this Towne. The other replies, I see you are a stranger, new come over, seeing you know not the man, it is one Mr. *Shepheard.* Verily quoth the other you hit the right, I am new come over indeed, and have been told since I came, most of your Ministers are legall Preachers, only if I mistake not they told me this man Preached a finer covenant of woorkes than the other, but however I shall make what haste I can to heare him. Fare you well; then hasting thither hee croudeth through the thickest, where having stayed while the glasse was turned up twice, the man was metamorphosed, and was fain to hang down his head often, lest his watry eyes should blab abroad the secret conjunction of his affections, the heart crying loud to the Lord's ecchoing answer, to his blessed spirit, that caused the Speech of a poore weake pale complectioned man to take such impression in his soule at pre-

sent, by applying the word so aptly, as if hee had beene hisPrivy Counsellor, cleering Christ's worke of grace in the soule from all those false Doctrines, which the Erronious party had affrighted him withall, and now he resolves (the Lord willing) to live and die with the Ministers of *New England*, whom hee now saw the Lord had not onely made zealous to stand for the truth of his Discipline, but also of the Doctrine, and not to give ground one inch."

Cotton Mather, introducing his account of Shepard, says, "Let the reader now go with me and I will show him one of the *happiest* men that ever we saw; as great a converter of souls as has ordinarily been known in our days." [1]

Again. "It was with a respect unto the enlightening and powerful ministry of Mr. Shepard, that when the foundation of a *colledge* was to be laid, *Cambridge*, rather than any other place, was pitched upon to be the seat of that happy seminary." [2]

"Of Mr. Shepard I have been told (says Mr. Prince) that he scarce ever preached a sermon but some or other of his congregation were struck with great distress and cried out in agony, 'What shall I do to be saved.' Though his

[1] Magnalia, B. III. Chap. V.
[2] Ibid.

voice was low yet so searching was his preaching, and so great a power attending, as a hypocrite could not easily bear it, and it seemed almost irresistible." [1]

"As he was a very studious person, and a very *lively* preacher, and one who therefore took great pains in his *preparations*, for his publick labours, which preparations he would usually finish on *Saturday* by two o'clock in the afternoon: with respect whereunto he once used these words: *God will curse that man's labours, that lumbers up and down in the world all the week, and then upon* Saturday *in the afternoon goes to his study; when as God knows that time were little enough to pray in and weep in, and get his heart into a frame fit for the approaching Sabbath.* So the character of his daily conversation was a *trembling walk* with God." [2]

"President Edwards styles Mr. Shepard 'that famous experimental divine;' and in his 'Treatise concerning religious affections,' makes a greater use of his writings, particularly of his Parable of the Ten Virgins than of any other writings whatever." [3]

"This year 1649, Aug. 25. that faithful and

1 Prince's Sermons published by Dr. Erskine p. 60.
2 Magnalia, Book III. Chap. V.
3 Historical Collections, Vol. V. First Series, 45.

eminent servant of Christ Mr. *Thomas* Shepard died, who was a soul searching Minister of the Gospel and Pastor of the Church of Christ at Cambridge. By his death not only that Church and people, but also all *New England* sustained a very great loss; he not only preached the Gospel profitably and very successfully, but also hath left behind him divers worthy works of special use, in reference unto the clearing up the state of the soul to God and man; the benefit thereof, those can best experience who are most conversant in the improving of them and have God's blessing on them therein to their souls good. His Body was honourably buried at *Cambridge* in New England.

"'Blessed are the dead that die in the Lord, for their works follow them.'" [1]

The following works of Shepard are mentioned by contemporary writers.

1. "Among his composures of the more *doctrinal* sort the bell seems to be borne by his elaborate and judicious treatise, entitled THESES SABBATICÆ; wherein he hath handled the *morality of the Sabbath* with a degree of reason,

[1] Morton's N. E's. Memorial, 1721. p. 169.

reading, and religion which is truly extraordinary." [1]

2. ——— or CAUTIONS AGAINST SPIRITUAL DRUNKENNESS.—'In which Sermon, he uttered this complaint: *Do we not see great unsettledness in the Covenant of God, walking with God at peradventures, and hanckerings after divisions and distractions.*' [2]

3. THE SINCERE CONVERT.—" which the author would commonly call his ragged child. He said: *It was a collection of notes in a dark town in* England, *which one procuring of me published without my will or privity.*" [3]

4. THE SOUND BELIEVER.—A copy of this work, lately found in the possession of a member of this parish has this Title page: "The Sound Believer. A Treatise of Evangelical Conversion. Discovering the Work of Christ's Spirit, in reconciling of a sinner to God. By THOMAS SHEPARD, some time of Emanuel College in Cambridge, since Preacher of God's in New England." In the Dedication 'To his dear Friend, Mr. W. Greenhill,' he says, as a reason for publishing this Book, '*I knew not what the Lord's meaning should be to bring to light without any privity, knowledge, or will* the

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[1] Magnalia Book III. Chap. V.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.

former part (referring to the Sincere Convert) unless it was to awaken and enforce me, (being desired) to publish the rest: OUR WORKS I THOUGHT SHOULD RESEMBLE GOD'S WORKS, NOT BE LEFT IMPERFECT." The Book is founded on this text, Hosea XIII. IX. 'O Israel thou hast destroyed thyself; but in me is thy help." It is well worthy of a reprint.

5. A SERMON, "*tending to clear up the old way of Christ in the Churches of New England.*"

6. A LETTER. "*New England's lamentation for Old England's Errours.*" Cambridge 1663.

7. Select Cases Resolved.

8. The Church-membership of Children; and

9. The Soul's Jewel, in Two Sermons.

10. THE PARABLE OF THE TEN VIRGINS;—'whereof the venerable names of GREENHILL, CALAMY, JACKSON, ASH, TAYLOR have subscribed this testimony. "*That though a vein of serious, solid and hearty piety runs through all this author's works, yet he hath reserved the best wine till the last.*" [1]

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[1] Magnalia, Book III. Chap. V. For several other works of Shepard, see Catalogue of Harvard College Library, &c.

Nos. 7, 8 and 9 are in possession of the 'Historical Society.'

Perhaps these notices cannot be concluded more appropriately than by applying to this eminent man a 'Funeral Elegy' on his predecessor the famous HOOKER, written by Mr. John Cotton, every word of which is as true of SHEPARD as of the former.[1]

To see three things was holy *Austin's* wish
Rome in her flower, *Christ Jesus* in the flesh,
And *Paul* i' the Pulpit: Lately men might see
Two first and more in SHEPARD's ministry.

Zion in beauty is a fairer sight
Than Rome in Flower with all her glory dight:
Yet Zion's beauty did most clearly shine,
In SHEPARD's Rule and Doctrine, both divine.

Christ in the Spirit is more than Christ in Flesh,
Our souls to quicken, and our States to bless.
Yet Christ in Spirit brake forth mightily
In faithful SHEPARD's searching ministry.

Paul in the Pulpit, SHEPARD could not reach,
Yet did he Christ in Spirit so lively preach,
That living hearers thought he did inherit
A double Portion of Paul's lively Spirit.

Prudent in rule, in Argument quick, full,
Fervent in prayer, in Preaching powerfull;
That well did Learned Ames record bear
The like to him he never wont to hear.

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[1] Morton's N. E's Memorial, 1721. p. 163.

Twas of *Geneva's Worthies* said, with wonder
(Those Worthies three) *Farell* was wont to Thunder,
Vircet, like Rain, on tender Grass to shower:
But *Calvin* lively Oracles to pour.

All these in SHEPARD's spirit did remain,
A Son of Thunder, and a shower of Rain,
A pourer forth of lively Oracles,
In saving Souls the sum of Miracles.

Now blessed SHEPARD thou art set on high
Above the thankless world and cloudy skie;
Do thou, of all thy labour reap the Crown,
Whilst we here reap the seed which thou hast sown.

An Epitaph, selected from a Latin Elegy made upon him, is:

'Nominis, Officiique fuit Concordia Dulcis;
Officio Pastor, *Nomine* Pastor erat.'

His Name and Office sweetly did agree:
SHEPARD, by name, and in his Ministry.

CONCLUSION.

A parish priest was of the PILGRIM train,
An awful, reverend and religious man:
He bore his great commission in his look,
But sweetly tempered awe, and softened all he spoke:
He preached the joys of heaven and pains of hell,
And warned the sinner with becoming zeal,—
But on eternal mercy loved to dwell.

DRYDEN.

THERE never was a character more strongly marked than that of the subject of this book, which at the same time left upon the beholder, as the predominating impression, the sense of something soft and beautiful. In reading the Autobiography, and in collecting the notices of its author, two words seemed to express in a singularly just and perfect manner, the leading features of his character and mind: '*Simplicity and godly Sincerity.*' These characteristics strike the reader before he has finished many pages

of the book. What unaffected feeling! It is pure nature, flowing like a silent stream over its own natural bed. Like the writers of his age, he uses words without much regard to comeliness of expression, but with a '*semper instans sibi*,' or cumulative, manner, which indicates a feeling and sincere heart. Sometimes, when a preceding sentence has filled us with emotion, and we read on, an expression of godly sorrow or of pious reflection strikes the mind with overcoming power,—while the man himself, seemingly unconscious of the greatness of his meaning, proceeds immediately to an incidental circumstance, after the manner of the sacred penman. Thus, after the sublime but mournful words of Hezekiah in the prospect of death, *The grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee;—the living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day*,—it is added, as it were in the same breath, For Isaiah had said, *Let them*, &c. describing the simple remedy that changed this sorrow of the king to joy.

What an illustration of this, and of his simple, childlike way of reasoning and feeling, have we in his own description of the cause of his first

religious impressions. 'When I did light in godly company I heard them discourse about the wrath of God and the terrour of it, and how intolerable it was, which they did present by fire —how intolerable the torment of *that* was for a time—*what then would eternity be?*' And again, as a reason why he 'did presse the Lord' to spare the life of his second son; 'because I sought for ye first, and could not prevayle for his life; *and this was sore if the Lord did not heare me for this.*'

Instances illustrative of this trait of character pervade his life. His reasons for leaving Old England, because he thought that he saw the Lord departing from it, '*when Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker were gone;*' his peculiar manner of recognizing the superintending providence of God, which sometimes excites a smile, it is so much like a child's words to his father in the dark; his constant fear of 'crossing the Lord's love;' his immediate prostration of soul before Him at the slightest intimation of His displeasure; and many other instances of the same kind, cannot fail to interest the reader. We see in them an illustration of the principle that

in proportion as the character of man is assimilated to God, a quick sensibility to His presence, and under the influence of this, a perfect simplicity of feeling is begotten in the soul.

He was a man of prayer. When he was very young he 'wrestled' for his father's life, 'and made some covenant if God would spare him.' He notes it as a dark passage in his life when, at the University, he spent some time 'in neglect of private prayer,' though he was not then a Christian. What a specimen of intercessory prayer is his entreaty for the life of his child. When he had escaped drowning at 'Ferry brig,' (bridge) no sooner had he relieved himself from his uncomfortable condition, than he took his companions with him and 'went to prayer.' Thus through his life he walked with God, and as the natural effect, he poured forth such feelings and expressions in his public devotional services that all his fellow-worshippers felt that he had a strange access to the mercy-seat. The writer, who gives the history of the formation of this church, cannot help observing that 'Mr. Shepard then made a most heavenly prayer.'

He was a man of great humility. He was indeed conscious that God had made him useful as a minister, and that he had gifts which would be profitable to the Church in this or any land. He did not undervalue himself, or affect a false humility by unjust expressions of his unworthiness,—neither did he, like some, consider himself as honoring God the more, in proportion as he despised himself or his services. But through his life, a consciousness that sin was mingled with much that he did, and that he came far short of his duty, and that he was prone to forsake God for other sources of enjoyment, made him a weeping Prophet. The contrast of his own character with that of his Maker, which was impressed upon him so frequently by his seasons of fasting and prayer, made him feel like Job, when he said—'but now mine eye seeth thee; wherefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.'

From all this we gather the secret of his great success in preaching. Every pious hearer knows that whenever he has received spiritual benefit from a minister, it has been conveyed by thoughts which seemed to have around them

an unction from the Holy One. Baxter says that the sermons by which he himself found access to the heart, were those which he had begged of the Lord in prayer. In reading Shepard's Sermons, we feel that he had this unction, and that he obtained it by his uncommon habits of devotion. We are told that he finished his preparation for the Sabbath on Saturday afternoon, and spent the rest of the time before the public exercises of the Lord's day, in devout meditation and prayer. He said, when dying, that the study of every sermon cost him tears. The truth of this declaration is impressed on his discourses. He knew where to carry his rising trains of thought to have them enlarged, and rectified, and breathed upon ; and as he wrestled with God for words to express the growing emotions of his soul, there flew one of the seraphim and touched his lips as with a live coal from off the altar. It is evident from his sermons on the Parable of the Ten Virgins, 'that he spake in words which the Holy Ghost teacheth;' for though they manifest extensive reading and research, so that Calamy, to mention no others, has given them the highest praise, it is plainly evident that

the effect which they produce upon the mind comes from something in them which is far above the ordinary power of talent or learning. As the Saviour describes the secret operation of the Spirit by the similitude of the unseen wind, so in the preaching of this holy man, an influence fell upon the hearers, like the mysterious, overwhelming presence of the Spirit of God. He wrote from his own heart, and was therefore sure to reach the heart, detect the sins, satisfy the wants, and comfort the souls of others. He was peculiarly successful in exposing hypocrisy. He fulfilled the prophecy concerning the Christian dispensation, in being a refiner's fire for the purification of the sons of Levi, making many a Christian a priest unto God, insomuch that a writer of his time speaks of Shepard's church as forming a wonderful exception to the spirit of heresy and division which entered the churches of New England. The fact that it was always asked upon the Sabbath by those who had not attended worship, "Who was wrought upon to-day?" shows that, like the Apostles, he rose to preach, expecting that the word of God would take immediate effect.

Living as he did in such converse with eternal scenes, he felt in his own spirit the powers of the world to come. Two subjects were favorite themes in his discourses: the exceeding sinfulness and the tremendous consequences of sin, and the greatness and glory of the Saviour's character. There was exceeding tenderness and pathos in his invitation of a sinner to Christ. He seemedalmost to carry the anxious sinner in his arms to the Saviour, and endeavored to make him consent, before they parted, that he would own Him as his Lord. He was a son of thunder as well as of consolation; but at the close of all his terrible denunciations against the wicked,

'The stiller sound succeeds, and—God is there.'

There was one circumstance which made his preaching instructive as well as convincing. From an intimate acquaintance with his own heart he was a great casuist. Questions of a perplexing nature connected with religious experience, and Christian duty, were solved by him with great discrimination and skill. His 'Select Cases Resolved' consists of answers to several inquiries of a Christian friend in Eng-

land, of which two writers of a recommendatory preface to the fourth edition say, 'we have seldom seen acuteness, profoundness, and godliness so happily matched.' This gift was cultivated by a striking anxiety that no one of his flock should be a self-deceiver. It was the burden of his preaching to his Church that they should know what was the hope of their calling, and give diligence to make this calling sure. He was incessant in warning every man and teaching every man, that he might present every man faultless in Christ.

To the Members of this Church, founded and established by this eminent servant of Christ Jesus, there is great instruction and comfort to be derived from this book, which is now affectionately commended to their regard. A great responsibility rests upon us in having had such a man in this interesting relation. There was great wisdom in making a man the founder of the Jewish nation, who was pre-eminent for his faith; inasmuch as the trials which were coming upon them would teach them the value of faith more than of any thing else, while their reverence for their patriarch would inspire them

to imitate his example. Your Shepard suffered the loss of all things for Christ, and went through much tribulation, to found this church. 'Take, my brethren,' this prophet who has spoken to you in times past, and now, though dead, in this book, 'for an example of suffering affliction, and patience.' You have been called to great sacrifices of property, and of feeling, for what you believe to be the truth. If the decisions of our tribunals are in agreement with the mind of Christ, you would not change them. If others have said to you, 'Bow down, that we may go over,' if they have unjustly taken your funds and your sacred vessels, there is One that has said, 'I hate robbery for burnt-offering;' and must regard the emblems borne in those vessels as the shew bread of iniquity and the wine of deceit.* Whether they or you are right in this

* In addition to what has already been said upon this subject, it may be proper to state, that although at the time of the secession of the First Church from the First Parish in Cambridge, there was property in the possession of the latter to the amount of at least 10 or $12,000, they nevertheless prosecuted the Church for their little fund raised at the Communion table. The sum of 'nearly $5000' mentioned in the Preface of this book, includes Plate and other Church property. The fund itself was only $4100! But we are happy to say that only one half of those male members of the

case, the Lord knoweth them that are his. Receive the remarkable coincidence of the discovery of this book with the time of your necessity, as a proof that your Redeemer liveth, and that there is a remembrance of you in heaven in the prayers of him whose petitions, when on earth, for his church are doubtless kept in the golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of saints.

One or two things in this book are worthy of special observation by the members of our

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Church who remained with the Parish were actively concerned in these transactions. In saying that there were 'two or three' who still remained,—we refer to those who supported the parish in all their proceedings. It is really painful to bring these things to remembrance. No feeling of retaliation prompts us. We conceive it to be our duty to show the spirit and tendency of a religious system, as 'liberal' in its professions of charity as in its injuries of the rights of others. Equity, not the letter of the law, should be the rule of professing Christians, especially if they have attained to 'enlarged views' of Christianity. We would gladly have been silent upon this subject, were we not convinced that there has been and is now an acquiescence on the part of the Evangelical community in the violation of their rights by which their Churches have been laid waste, and some of their most important institutions perverted. It is only when we have learned that our right of suffrage is a religious duty, and a silent submission to public injustice a crime, that our rights will be respected, and our Institutions redeemed to 'Christ and the Church.'

church, as well as of all the churches in this region. I. The great importance which Shepard attached to the practice of Infant Baptism. During his persecution from place to place in Old England, it was his anxious care to find a refuge where he could safely obtain the ordinance of Baptism for a child. And at last, one reason which induced him to seek a removal to New England, was that he could here enjoy this ordinance in its purity. There is no passage in his life more affecting than that in which he is so particular to remind his son that he has been baptised. 'And after we had been here diverse weekes,' he tells him 'God gave thee the ordinance of Baptism, whereby God is become thy God, and is beforehand with thee, so that when thou shalt return to God he will undoubtedly receive thee.' One of the most able of his works is entitled '*The Church Membership of Children, and their right to Baptism, according to that holy and everlasting Covenant of God established between Himself and the faithful and their seed after them in their generations.*' In this book he shows, with singular acuteness, that God had from the beginning an outward

and inward covenant with men, and that all the Jewish nation were admitted to the outward covenant, in order that by external privileges they might be 'Jews inwardly.' He then proves that "the covenant then and now is for substance the same." 1. Because the covenant made with Abraham is renewed in the Gospel, Heb. viii. 10. 2. Because Abraham's covenant is "of Gospel and eternal privileges." 3. Because there was never any covenant but it was either of *grace* or *works*; that of grace which was made with Abraham,—that of works, on Mount Sinai. "But (Gal. iii. 17.) the covenant which was confirmed afore BY CHRIST, the law 480 years after cannot disannul." 5. Because the promise, I will be a God to thee and thy seed, does not belong to the mere *lineal* descendants of Abraham, inasmuch as it is said of the Jews, 'they are broken off by *unbelief*, and by *faith* shall be graffed in.' If therefore they were broken off by *unbelief*, then they stood as members of the church by faith; and if by *faith* they should be *graffed in*, then they stood by faith at first. Hence not the lineal but the faithful descendants, are heirs according to the

promise. If so, believers under the New Testament have the same privilege with ancient Jews, viz.; that their children are included with them in the covenant. He then shows that "there is the same inward cause moving God, to take in the children of believing church members into the church and covenant now, to be of the number of his people, as there was for taking the Jews and their children. For the only reason why the Lord took in the children of the Jews with themselves was his love towards them. '*Because he loved thy fathers, therefore he chose their seed.*' Deut. iv. 37, and x. 15. So that I do from hence believe that either God's love is in these days of his gospel less unto his people and servants than in the days of the Old Testament; or if it be as great, that then the same love respects the seed of his people now as then it did. And therefore, if then because He loved them, He chose their seed to be of his church: so in these days, because He loveth *us*, He chooseth *our* seed to be of his church also."

The common arguments against Infant Baptism are answered in an original and satisfactory manner. It is objected, he says, that 'if chil-

dren be members, then they must come to the Lord's supper; for you know no difference between member and member, in point of privilege, unless they be under some sin.' Answer. 'Yes, verily, there is a plain difference between member and member (though professing believers) in point of privilege, though they be under no sin: for a *man* may speak and prophesy in the church, not *women*. A company of *men* may make a church, and so receive in and cast out of the church, but not *women*, though professing saints.' He also argues that 'a man may believe in Christ, and yet be very ignorant of the nature, use, and ends of the Lord's supper; now such may be *baptized* as soon as ever faith appears, Mark xvi. 16; but they may not be admitted to the Lord's supper, because through their extreme ignorance, they cannot discern the Lord's body. If therefore children be able to examine themselves and discern the Lord's body, they may then eat.' He then answers the following question: 'What good is it either for a wicked or an elect child, till he be converted, to be in the Church? or what good may any have by being in the Church till they

can profit by what they enjoy?' Answer. 'The Apostle puts the like case, and gives you an answer: *what advantage hath the Jew, and what profit is there in circumcision.* What use or profit could the infants then make of their church covenant, membership, or seal, who understand none of these things? Do you think the Lord exposed his holy ordinances then unto contempt, and is more careful that they may be more profitably used now? was there no good by circumcision? Yea, saith the Apostle, *much every way.*' An illustration of this point in another place in his book, is this: 'These children may not be the sons of God and his people, really and savingly, but God will honor them outwardly at least with his name and privilege; *just as one that adopts a youngster tells the father that if the child carry himself well toward him, when he is grown up to years, he shall possess the inheritance itself; but yet in the mean while he shall have this favor to be called his son, and be of his family and household, and so be reckoned among the number of his sons.*'

But to leave his argument, what amazing power did this man possess over his son by

being able to say to him, GOD GAVE THEE THE ORDINANCE OF BAPTISM, WHEREBY GOD IS BECOME THY GOD, AND IS BEFOREHAND WITH THEE, THAT WHENEVER THOU SHALT RETURN TO GOD HE WILL UNDOUBTEDLY RECEIVE THEE! And what a loss is it to a parent who cannot lay upon a child this solemn responsibility of choosing the service of that God who has so graciously included him in His covenant. 'What would Shepard say to the members of our churches who have forsaken the covenant of their God, in neglecting this invitation and promise to their seed? This son was early a subject of renewing grace, and reflected great honor upon his father's memory and upon the Church, as a faithful and distinguished minister. All his children of whom we have any knowledge were likewise useful in the Church, verifying the promise of God to him and 'to his seed.'

The Half-Way covenant, that polluter of the fountain set open for Judah and Jerusalem, was invented at a later day, in order to make men nominally Church members, that so they might be eligible to offices of civil trust; and because piety had greatly declined, it was thought that

by inviting all who would 'acknowledge the covenant,' and thus be entitled to baptism for their children, (though they themselves were prohibited from the Lord's supper) there would in this way be a good prospect of securing a righteous seed in the coming generation. Such however was the confidence of our fathers in the moral influence of *having been baptized*, when the subjects themselves should come to years of reflection. But, alas! multitudes at the present day, with only a superficial acquaintance or rather an entire ignorance of the nature of the Covenant with believers, have been deterred from availing themselves of this blessed privilege, by the ridicule, or the sophistical or equally superficial objections of Christian friends. A great part of those who practise the Ordinance, it is to be feared, think of it only as a solemn formality of giving a child a name! The Apostle reproving an ancient Church for its abuse of the Lord's supper, says, '*For this cause many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep.*' May not the present acknowledged state of declension in many of our Churches, and the low standard of piety, and

our frequent exposure, especially at times of great religious interest, to sectarian proselytism, proceed in part from the lamentable neglect of the Covenant which God made with us in Abraham? Should it not be a solemn inquiry with all the members of our churches, who are neglecting the baptism of their children, whether, thus far at least, they do not break covenant with their God?

II. In the conduct of Shepard at the formation of the Church in Dorchester, where with a boldness and fidelity seldom imitated, he refused to lay hands on some of the candidates for membership, we see a spirit which is a safeguard of the Churches against corruption, from the admission of unworthy members.

That indiscriminating 'judgment of charity' which has been the rule to so great an extent in the admission of members to the church, however it may appear to some to indicate a kind heart, is a mistaken and ruinous principle. Shepard thought that if those individuals to whose admission he demurred, were really Christians, their rejection could not prejudice

their final acceptance by Christ. He chose to err, if at all, on the side of the general good, rather than of individual feeling. It is believed that his example in this respect will confirm those churches in their procedure, who have lately determined on the observance of stricter rules, and a more thorough investigation of the evidences of Christian character in respect to candidates for the Church. The Saviour has lately been amongst some of the Churches of this region with his fan, and has thoroughly purged his floor. The foundation has been laid anew in many places for a more spiritual temple. Let us be careful what we build upon this foundation, that, if possible, the superstructure may not soon again be tried by fire. Members of the Church must feel that a solemn responsibility rests on each of them, and not merely upon the minister, to guard the purity of the Church, both by their own holy living, and by refusing to lay hands suddenly on any man. While the Priest ministers at the altar, they, like Vestal Virgins, must see that its sacred fire is fed, and that iniquity like a flood no longer deluges the pilgrim sanctuaries.

To conclude. A thought which interests and fills the soul when we read the lives of learned, eloquent, yet humble, affectionate men, is, that these minds are not lost, but are now 'living unto God.' What an assemblage of greatness and glory is gathered together in heaven! What an amount of sanctified, noble intellect! What vast variety of character! what infinitely diversified powers! God is constantly increasing the beauty and glory of this society by the accession of great and good men from this earth. As one and another of the eminent servants of Jesus have of late gone to their rest, and we have contemplated their meeting in heaven with those whose characters they and we have loved, how desirable has it seemed to die; nay, rather, that whilst we live, we should, by all means, so improve our Christian character, our intellectual and moral powers, that we may be fitted for the society of the great and just. May this be the endeavor of all who reverence the name of SHEPARD, or, like the members of this Church, have in their pious recollection the example of A FRIEND, whose life on earth has made him a Morning star in the firmament of heaven.

B. P. L. Hindery,
MAR 29 1911